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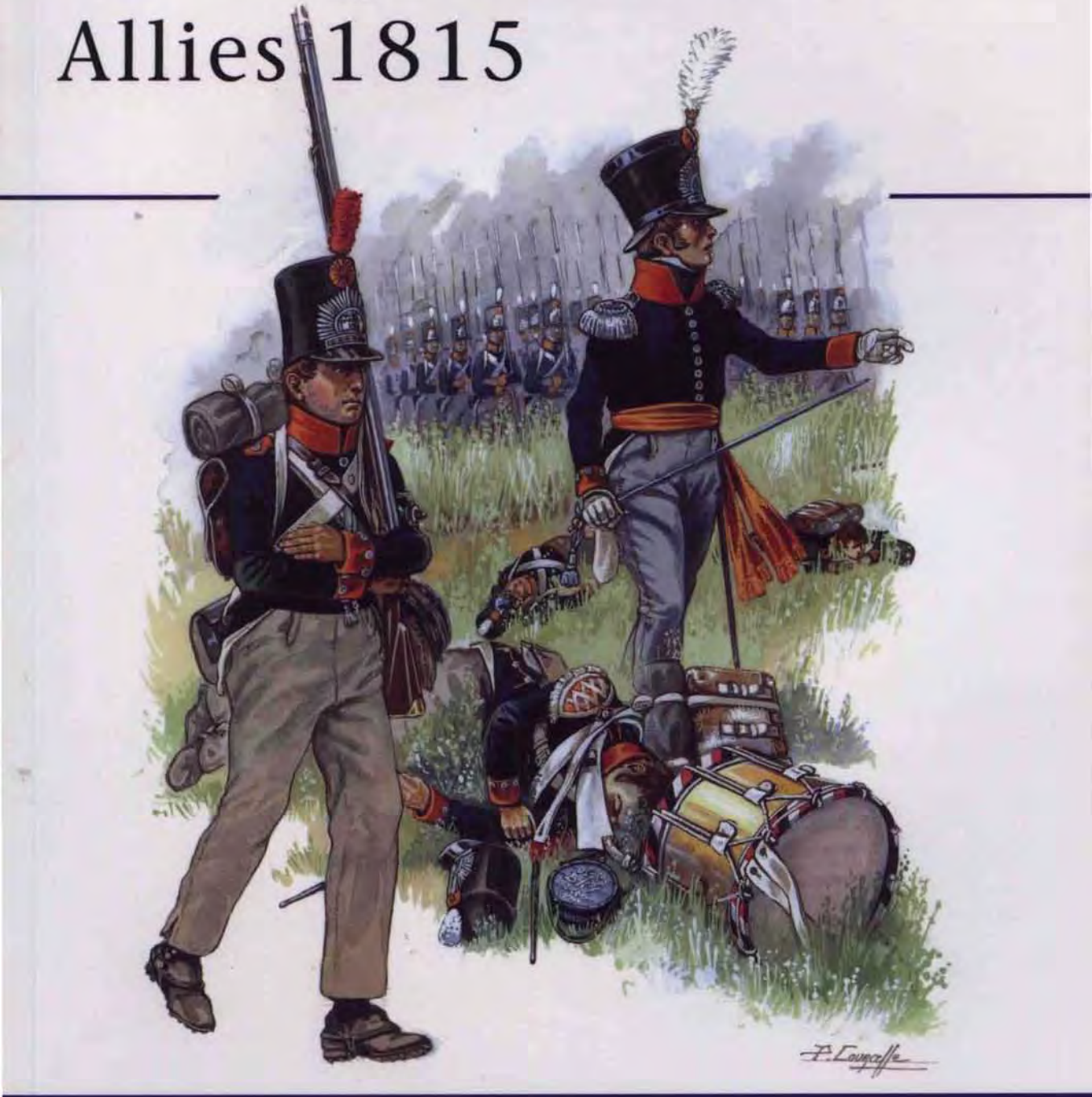
Wellington's Dutch Allies 1815



Ronald Pawly • Illustrated by Patrice Courcelle

WELLINGTON'S DUTCH ALLIES 1815

1813: INDEPENDENCE REGAINED

UNTIL 1568 THE NETHERLANDS were ruled by Spain. Between 1568 and 1648 the seven northern provinces fought for their freedom, and finally achieved independence as the republic of the United Provinces, under the constitutional leadership of the House of Orange. The southern part remained under Spanish rule and in 1713 would become, for dynastic reasons, a possession of the Austrian imperium.

The United Provinces – roughly, modern Holland – was a proud and thriving independent state for some 200 years; but in 1794–95 it was conquered by French Republican armies (the same fate befalling the southern Austrian provinces). The *Stadhouder* or sovereign, Prince William V of Orange, was driven into exile in England. Under French domination Holland survived, until 1806, under the name of the Batavian Republic. In that year Louis Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother was 'called to the throne by the Dutch people' – in other words, installed on a newly invented throne by French bayonets, as the country became a vassal state of France. However, this member of the Bonaparte clan displayed an unexpected determination to govern as an independent sovereign, and showed some sympathy for the true interests of his new subjects. This earned him popularity among the Dutch people, and the fury of his brother. In 1810 Napoleon annexed his country as part of France, and King Louis (to the Dutch, Lodewijk) fled into exile in his turn. Most former Dutch troops were incorporated into the French army; and for the first time in their history, the Dutch felt the burden of mass military conscription. While their young men left their bones in Spain and Russia as cannon-fodder for Napoleon, his 'Continental System' of maritime blockade ruined Dutch commerce.

Colonel Gysbert C.R.R.van Brienen (1771–1821). Created colonel of Amsterdam's Guard of Honour by King Lodewijk (Louis), he commanded the National Guard in 1813. During the popular uproar which accompanied the French withdrawal from the city Van Brienen, at the head of the National Guard, paraded through the streets to show that there was still a force in being to keep the peace, while leaving the citizens free to celebrate their liberation. Later, King William I of the Netherlands created Van Brienen a Commander in the Military Order of William for his sensible handling of the uprising. (Stichting Iconografisch Bureau, The Hague)

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With the defeat of the French at Leipzig in October 1813, French withdrawal unexpectedly turned into an almost uninterrupted retreat towards the borders of France, and Germany was evacuated apart from some fortified cities. Expressions of national fervour broke out in several countries occupied or dominated by France: the torch was lit by Prussia, but Holland was not far behind.

Even before the Dutch uprising, the widow of the last Stadhouder (William V had died in exile), who was the sister of the King of Prussia – the Dowager-Princess Frederika Sophie Wilhelmina – asked her brother for permission to create a Dutch 'Legion of Orange' (Oranje Legioen) in the hope of liberating Holland and restoring the dynasty. On 28 October 1813 the king gave his approval – but not his financial support. The princess borrowed money against her houses, even her furniture, to fund her cause. The Legion's garrison was to be at

Schwedt-am-Oder and a recruiting office was established in Berlin; and the princess eventually found a commander in Lt.Col. J.V. Baron de Constant Rebecque.

Recruitment among Dutch prisoners of war captured by the Allies was slow; but when cities such as Dresden, Danzig, Torgau and Wittenberg fell into Allied hands the situation improved, and particularly after the fall of Stettin, on 30 November 1813. Part of the captured French garrison was the 3e Bataillon, 123e Régiment de Ligne, a Dutch-manned unit. The Legion's 1st Bn – organised on 6 December 1813 – was soon at full strength, mustering some 1,080 men in ten companies, with enough officers left over to organise two more battalions and an artillery company. All three took part in the liberation of Holland, and fought at Gorinchem.

Early in November 1813 the first Cossacks arrived in Holland over the north German border – the forerunners of a largely Russian and Prussian Allied 'Army of the North', commanded by Crown Prince Bernadotte of Sweden. Short of troops, the French Gen. Molitor moved his headquarters from Amsterdam to Utrecht on 14 November. Thus began a chain of events which soon accelerated with bewildering speed. The next day, when the citizens of Amsterdam heard this news, rebellion broke out; patriots distributed orange cockades and ribbons, and the hated French Customs office was burned down. On the 16th the Duke of Plaisance, the French governor-general, left Amsterdam for the more secure city of Antwerp, giving supreme command of the troops in Holland to Gen. Molitor. In this power vacuum, Col. G.C.R.R.van Brienen van de Groote Lindt, commander of the National Guard of Amsterdam, set up an interim government.

Detail from J.W.Pieneman's painting of G.K.van Hogendorp accepting leadership of the Provisional Government in the name of the prince-sovereign on 20 November 1813. This shows officers and men of the National Guard still in their French uniforms, but with the imperial eagle emblem broken off the top of their shako plates – see top left. The National Guard were almost the only properly trained and equipped troops at the disposal of the Provisional Government; they would, of necessity, retain their old uniforms for lack of funds to have any new ones made. (Stichting Iconografisch Bureau, The Hague)

(The National Guard was a French creation extended into the country when Holland was annexed into France's departmental system in 1810, but its manpower was Dutch. It consisted of three levels or *bans*: the first, of men between 20 and 26 years of age, was an active force organised as 88 *cohortes*, each of six fusilier companies, an artillery company and a depot company – every six 'cohorts' formed a brigade. The second *ban* gathered men between 27 and 40, and the third, between 41 and 60 years.)

In The Hague, too, patriotic citizens looked for leaders. Count Leopold van Limburg Styrum accepted the function of governor of the city in the name of the hereditary Prince of Orange. This marked the beginning of a general uprising against French power. However, the Provisional Government – led by Van Hogendorp, Van Limburg Styrum and Van der Duyn van Maasdam – had at their disposal only a handful of armed men: 300 National Guards commanded by Col. J.G.van Oldenbarneveldt; 50 civilians armed with hunting weapons; 50 half-pay officers; 50 veterans of the former Dutch Guard; 400 volunteers known as the 'Friends of the Allies'; 20 young

mounted civilians, and some volunteers armed with pikes. From these modest beginnings the rebellious cities of The Hague and Amsterdam, followed by Rotterdam and Geertruidenberg, would soon raise seven infantry battalions.

Prussian troops entered Holland on 19 November. At The Hague, the 'Orange-Prussia Battalion' would soon be created from soldiers of the French garrison's 4e Régiment Étrangère – a unit raised from Prussian former prisoners of war. Formally dismissed from French service on 25 November, on 27 December they would be organised into the new ten-company unit. Those who only wanted to serve until the French were expelled formed two Oranje-Jäger companies.

On 20 November the National Guard of The Hague was re-baptised as the Oranje-Garde (increased to six companies on 1 December). On 21 November two 'corps' were created at The Hague. That led by Gen. J.D.Baron Sweerts de Landas (300 men from the Orange-Prussia Bn, 40 mounted volunteers and two 8-pounder guns) kept watch in the direction of Gorinchem. The second, led by Gen. C.F.de Jonge (300 former National Guardsmen – 'Old Guards' – under command of Col. J.E.van Doorn, 32 mounted volunteers and two 8-pdrs), guarded the approaches from Utrecht. Former Lt.Col. P.J.Timmerman was authorised to raise a unit of cavalry. In Rotterdam, some days later, Col. J.E.Phaff was appointed commander of a volunteer infantry regiment which for the time being existed only on paper; later it would fight at Breda and Naarden.

The Provisional Government had accepted power on behalf of the Prince of Orange, but they were not in contact with him; from 19 November they sent messengers to England and Germany to establish liaison. In the meantime they proclaimed a general call to arms on 22 November. In this confused situation of local insurrections groping towards a co-ordinated national effort, the first Cossacks arrived in Amsterdam on 24 November, the same day that Maj.Gen. C.R.T.Baron Kraijenhoff became governor of the city.

On the 22nd the city of Leiden had recognised the Provisional Government. To strengthen their position, on the 23rd some 250 men led by Gen. de Jonge's and Col. Tullingh's National Guard of The Hague marched from Leiden and captured nearby Woerden without much difficulty. General Molitor, surprised by this daring expedition, reacted on the 24th by sending some 1,600 French troops, who drove the patriots out of Woerden after a couple of hours' skirmishing and re-entered the town, killing 26 citizens and wounding several others.

Nearby towns that had supported the new government became worried for their safety. It was high time for reinforcement from the Allies to boost morale; and help was to arrive from an unexpected quarter. On 26 November an English merchant, one Charles Grant, arrived in the neighbourhood of The Hague. He was immediately brought to Van Hogendorp, the representative of the Provisional Government, who exclaimed, 'My God! If I only had one British uniform to show, then all the French garrisons would crawl back into their barracks!' They did find one – and Mr Grant, clad in it, walked around The Hague radiating confidence and spreading the word that help was on the way.

General Cornelis R.T.Kraijenhof (1758–1840). A doctor of philosophy and medicine, he is represented here as a general under King Lodewijk (Louis Bonaparte), wearing French-style uniform with a black cockade, the Commander's cross of the Order of the Union, and the aiguillettes of an ADC to the king. A *général de brigade* under the Empire, he was contacted by the new Provisional Government and resigned from French service in November 1813. As military governor of Amsterdam he created several battalions, and led the siege of Naarden. Promoted lieutenant-general, he was appointed Inspector-General of Fortifications & Engineers, Sappers & Miners, and thus was not present at Quatre-Bras or Waterloo. (Stichting Iconografisch Bureau, The Hague)

With the only patriot forces actually under arms still being those of Gens. Sweerts de Landas and de Jonge, good co-operation between these two officers was obviously important. Unfortunately it was lacking; and Maj.Gen. Kraijenhoff consequently decided to replace Gen. de Jonge at the head of the 'Utrecht Corps'. Given the serious lack of cavalry, on 25 November former Lt. W.Boreel was authorised to raise a hussar unit consisting of a staff and eight companies. On 26 November an infantry unit being organised in Amsterdam under the command of Maj. J.G.Grunebosch was increased to three battalions; the former Guard of Amsterdam, on the city payroll, was incorporated as Grunebosch's 3rd Battalion. Alongside them, the National Guard of Amsterdam was raised to an establishment of five battalions by voluntary recruitment, still organised on the French model.

The Provisional Government began to feel ready to contemplate offensive action against the French, who were being withdrawn ever closer to the former French borders. Napoleon – facing an imminent invasion of France by three Allied armies – promised as many as 100,000 troops to Marshal Macdonald, who was struggling to hold the line in the Netherlands; but they would never arrive, and the French were forced to scrape up customs officers, gendarmes, veterans – anybody who could handle a gun. Finding themselves outflanked, they kept on retreating towards what is now Belgium (the former Austrian provinces of the South Netherlands), leaving garrisons in some major Dutch fortified cities such as Naarden and Den Helder. In the latter, Admiral Ver Huell defended the naval installations and fleet. To co-ordinate a line of defence Marshal Macdonald brought his headquarters to Nijmegen on 27 November, but left again on 4 December.

Rumours of Allied movements were rife, and the French thought that they faced a large army marching through Holland towards the strategic port of Antwerp. Napoleon seems to have given some credence to this, since he ordered part of his Imperial Guard to Antwerp and Breda. General Molitor, afraid of the Prussians actually advancing from the east, and of some 5,000 (fictional) British troops landing from the west, left Utrecht and retreated towards Gorinchem on 28 November. That same day, the Dutch government was organising the first battalion of a new unit – confusingly, also titled the 'Orange Legion' – at The Hague, under command of Baron de Perponcher.

With long-standing British interests in the Netherlands, which they were unwilling to abdicate to the Russians and Prussians, the British government were eager to take a hand in the liberation. On 29 November the fictional threat to the French from their seaward flank became a reality: the first British troops – some 200 Royal Marines – disembarked at Scheveningen, just as Gen. von Benckendorff's Russians were arriving in Amsterdam in force.

1814: A NATION REBORN

On 30 November 1813, at the age of 41 and after 15 years in exile, Prince William VI of Orange, eldest son of the last Stadhouder of Holland, landed at Scheveningen. The next day he was officially proclaimed in Amsterdam as Prince-Sovereign of the United Provinces. One of his

hardest immediate tasks was to raise a national army – most of the youth had either been killed in the course of Napoleon's campaigns, or were still fighting as part of French garrisons in besieged German towns or in the emperor's field armies.

The Dutch army, at the time of his arrival, consisted of the 1st Jäger Bn and ten line infantry battalions: seven raised in Holland, three in Prussia, and the tenth in Yarmouth, England, where a Dutch officer had enlisted former prisoners of war. It was on this mediocre foundation that the prince-sovereign must build a professional army. The essential armature was the officer corps, which presented immediate difficulties. Limited in their choice, the government were obliged to call back into service veteran officers, most of whom had retired in 1795 and were not acquainted with the latest methods. More experienced officers, returning from French imperial service, would subsequently replace most of these loyal but sclerotic figures. Among many of the troops, loyalty and confidence were low. It would only be after the French were defeated and their former foreign troops were sent home that things would improve.

In the meantime Gen. von Bülow, commander of the Prussian III Corps, attacked and took Arnhem; one unit of the French garrison was the Dutch-manned 5e Bataillon, 123e de Ligne, the majority of whom were incorporated into the new Dutch army.

During December the hectic pace of events continued. The Prince of Orange was officially recognised as prince-sovereign. The French were still retreating; strongpoints were falling into Allied hands faster than garrisons could be found to occupy them, and the country was swept by spontaneous demonstrations of joy over national liberation – on every house a flag, on every hat an orange cockade.

On 3 December a British fleet arrived, carrying troops commanded by Gen. Sir Thomas Graham. Once landed, at Tholen on 13 December, the redcoats would advance towards Antwerp. There, however, after two attempts, they would have to give up the idea of taking Napoleon's major naval base. (Early in March 1814 they would also try – again without success – to take Bergen-op-Zoom, a place of which it was said that a defender only had to draw up the bridges and shut the gates to prevent anybody from getting in, even if there was no garrison to hold the walls.) Gorcum, Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom were three points which the French were determined to hold; garrisons withdrawn from other towns were concentrated in these fortresses, and at Antwerp the French became sufficiently strong to mount a sortie which drove the Russian cavalry back upon Breda.

On 6 December the prince-sovereign called his people to arms. His treasury was virtually empty, and there were no weapons, uniforms or equipment for the new army. Following the Prussian example, they started collecting gold, silver and jewellery donated by private citizens to fund the war against the French. Increasing numbers of volunteers offered their services and several volunteer units were formed; but the new state still lacked an efficient professional army or the means to pay for one.

Bivouac of Russian Cossacks at Haarlem, November 1813. With French resistance limited to the fortified towns and the few troops commanded by Gen. Molitor, the advanced cavalry of Bernadotte's Allied army pushed quickly across the North Netherlands, taking town after town. The first 300 of them entered Amsterdam on 24 November, and they reached Utrecht on the 28th. They would later be presented with silver trumpets for their part in the liberation of Amsterdam. (Author's collection)

General Molitor moved his headquarters once more, towards 's-Hertogenbosch, where he joined forces with those of Marshal Macdonald – always shadowed by Gen. von Bülow's Prussians. Desertions from the multi-national French army increased; every soldier who was not a Frenchman born seemed to be leaving his regiment whenever the opportunity offered. On 29 December, 400 German deserters were recorded at Geertruidenberg, only 24 hours after two whole Flemish battalions came over to Von Bülow, armed and accoutred.

For two weeks the prince-sovereign's government watched the disappointing progress of his call to arms; then, on 20 December, they were forced to decree a *levée en masse* – general conscription – in order to organise a large corps of militia to support the small regular army. While living in England the prince-sovereign had been introduced to the British Army's system, and he now copied elements of it for his new Dutch army. The regular army would be based on voluntary enlistment. Where there were not enough volunteers, he would fill the ranks with soldiers from the regular militia (infantry and artillery), or from the *Landstorm* – local militia, formed from all healthy men between 17 and 50 years of age. Unavoidably, the basis on which the army was built was a core of former Dutch soldiers of Napoleon's army.

The Landstorm of Amsterdam would consist, from 1 January 1814, of 18 battalions of six companies each (these would be disbanded in July 1815). In cities where an armed civil guard existed – the *Schutterij*, an old name now revived for e.g. the National Guard of Amsterdam – a part of the Landstorm would be incorporated into the Schutterij. They were to play their part in liberating the country, but once their services were no longer needed they could be disbanded. On the last day of the year 1813, all infantry battalions were ordered organised with ten companies each. The existing battalions were:

Line Infantry	*Based*	*Formerly*
1st Bn	Breda	Orange Legion (De Perponcher)
2nd Bn	Breda	Phaff's bn, Rotterdam
3rd Bn	Amsterdam	1st Bn, Grunebosch's regt
4th Bn	Amsterdam	2nd Bn, Grunebosch's
5th Bn	Amsterdam	3rd Bn, Grunebosch's
6th Bn	Breda	Orange-Prussia Bn
7th Bn	Germany	1st Bn, Orange Legion (De Constant Rebecque)
8th Bn	Germany	2nd Bn, Orange Legion
9th Bn	Germany	3rd Bn, Orange Legion
10th Bn	England	PoWs; arrived Hellevoetsluis, 27 March 1814
Jägers		
1st Bn	Geertruidenberg	
Cavalry		
1st Hussars	Haarlem	Boreel's Hussars
2nd Dragoons	The Hague	Timmerman's regt

On 5 January 1814, Capt. C.G.Barchman Wuijtiers was authorised to raise two squadrons of dragoons at Utrecht; two days later Capt. C.F.van Staedel was authorised to raise two squadrons of light dragoons at Amsterdam. On 25 January these were ordered united into a single light

Detail of the collar and (here) cuff lace worn in silver by ADCs and gold by engineer officers, from the 1823 regulations – the first time it was published.

Officer of Engineers Cornelis J.M.van Kaps (1790–1818). To meet the need for artillery and engineer officers, in 1814 the Netherlands government created a military school at Delft. The shortage of engineer officers was felt at Quatre-Bras, where Gémioncourt farm was inadequately prepared for defence. This painting by Pieneman in autumn 1814 shows Van Kaps displaying the gold S-shaped collar loops distinctive of this corps. (Stichting Iconografisch Bureau, The Hague)

dragoon regiment. On 6 January the Prussian Maj. von Reiche organised, in the captured territory between the Waal and Meuse rivers, an 11th Line Inf Bn and a 1st Militia Bn; and in Amsterdam the former Prefect's Guard was transformed into a Veteran Company. On 24 January the government began forming a Garrison Battalion, initially with four companies (increased to ten in December 1814); the 1st Co incorporated the former Prefect's Guard of The Hague, and the 2nd was raised from veterans.

Army re-organisation of January 1814

On 9 January the government announced the formation of a regular army of some 30,000 men, the infantry to consist of 16 Line battalions, six Light (Jäger) battalions, nine foreign battalions (Swiss or Nassau), and one battalion for service in the Dutch colonies in the Indies. Each Line and Jäger battalion was to have ten companies including two flank companies, which in the Line would be considered as light companies. Changes to the existing units were as follows:

5th Line Inf Bn – broken up, three companies each to 1st & 2nd Line Inf Bns; a new 5th Line Inf Bn to be raised at Arnhem.

6th Line Inf Bn – became 2nd Jäger Bn; a new 6th Line Inf Bn to be raised at The Hague.

3rd Jäger Bn – formed from a Belgian battalion raised in Breda under Maj. Perez.

The cavalry was organised into regiments of four squadrons each of two companies, to total 818 all ranks. Each company, led by a captain *(ritmeester)* and two subalterns, was to have 100 all ranks – three officers, one quartermaster, two trumpeters, 14 NCOs and 80 troopers. (On 3 December 1814 an additional depot was added, bringing the total to 897 men with 925 horses.) Each regiment was commanded by a lieutenant-colonel backed by two majors, one of whom would remain with the depot in time of war. The new regiments were:

1st Dragoons – formerly Timmerman's regiment.

2nd Dragoons – formerly a unit raised by Lt.Col. J.G. Baron van Sytzama at Leeuwarden.

3rd Light Dragoons – formerly Barchman Wuijtiers' regiment.

Hussars – formerly Boreel's regiment.

On 7 March 1814 the 2nd and 3rd regiments would exchange numbers.

The artillery was to consist of four foot (Line) battalions and one mounted unit, each of eight companies, plus an artillery train battalion of six companies. In January 1814 work started on raising the 1st Line Bn at Delft, the 2nd Bn at The Hague and the 3rd at Zutphen, the horse artillery corps at Utrecht and the train at The Hague. There was to be one battalion composed of one company of pontonniers (engineers), one company of miners and one of sappers.

In mid-January 1814 the strength of the Militia was set at some 23,000 men, organised into 20 infantry and four artillery battalions, each with

800 to 1,000 men; the infantry battalions had ten companies, the artillery eight.

On 20 January a company of mounted Life Guards (Gardes du Corps) was created. Their colonel-in-chief was the son of the prince-sovereign – the future Prince of Orange; the commander, Capt. J.C. Count van Bylandt, enjoyed the rank of lieutenant-colonel 'in the army'. Lieutenants of this elite unit had the army rank of captain; sergeants, of first lieutenants; brigadiers (corporals), of second lieutenants; and trumpeters and guardsmen, of sergeants. Their uniform was a dark blue dolman with sky blue collar and cuffs, three rows of silver buttons and braid, with dark blue breeches, a shako with a white plume, an orange sash with silver tassels and knots, a black leather pouch and belt with silver ornaments.

From 11 January another elite company was organised – Prince Frederik's Jägers, named for the prince-sovereign's younger son, and commanded by Capt. W.H. Baron van Heerdt. From 11 April the captain had the army rank of lieutenant-colonel, and the other personnel the same enhanced ranks as the Gardes du Corps.

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While the re-organisation of the army was proceeding, the war continued. On 19 January 1814 Marshal Macdonald left Belgium, whose defence against the Allies was now entrusted to Gen. Maison. One by one, the Dutch towns still occupied by French garrisons were invested. Gorinchem was bombarded from 22 until 30 January by Prussian and Dutch troops; and on 26 January the Prussians took 's-Hertogenbosch where, from 18 February, a 5th Jäger Bn began organising.

The regular army was making progress. On 19 February the first bronze cannon for the new government was produced at The Hague. One week later a general recruiting office was opened at Amersfoort; outside Holland, similar offices were operating at Memel, Frankfurt and Blankenese on the Elbe, to collect former Dutch prisoners of war.

To enlarge his army, the prince-sovereign also ordered the raising of troops in his hereditary German territories of Orange-Nassau. The Regiment Orange-Nassau would have two battalions, each of four fusilier companies, a grenadier and a flanker (light) company, plus a depot company. The 1st Bn was soon at full strength; commanded by Maj. W.F.von Dressel, it left for Nijmegen and later for 's-Hertogenbosch. Later, Nassau Jäger volunteers would be organised and attached to the 2nd Bn of this regiment. Another corps was raised in co-operation with the Duke of Nassau-Usingen and the Prince-Sovereign of Nassau-Weilburg. This Nassau-Usingen Light Infantry Regt consisted of a staff and three battalions of six companies each, plus a depot.

On 7 March 1814, a decree was issued creating the I Netherlands Corps,

Dutch militiamen from 's-Graveland at the siege of Naarden, January 1814, wearing civilian clothes and armed with an assortment of hunting guns, pikes and pitchforks. The Dutch rising against French rule involved both the peasantry and the nobility and bourgeoisie; the latter organised themselves in volunteer companies or the *Schutterij*. The lower classes provided the manpower to blockade the French-garrisoned towns. (Private collection)

later to be known as the Mobile Corps of Brabant. To achieve this the mobilisation was ordered of 20 Line and Militia infantry battalions, four regiments of cavalry and four artillery batteries. On 11 March the prince-sovereign asked Gen. von Bülow to withdraw the remaining Prussian troops from Holland: the Dutch were now capable of besieging the towns still occupied by the French. A week later the Oranje-Garde from The Hague was disbanded, and on 21 March the raising of a Corps of Engineers was announced.

The war in France had not stood still, and the Allies entered Paris on 31 March 1814. During 4–7 April Gen. Kraijenhoff continued to bombard the French garrison of Naarden. On 11 April the prince-sovereign's eldest son, Prince William, took command of I Netherlands Corps and moved the headquarters towards Rozendaal. His quartermaster-general and chief of staff was Col. J.V. Baron de Constant Rebecque, and his 1st Division was commanded by his younger brother, Prince Frederik. The corps consisted of:

1st Division (Prince Frederik): *Light Infantry Brigade* (Maj.Gen. Baron von Kruse): 1st Bn, Nassau-Usingen Light Inf Regt; 1st & 3rd Jäger Bns; 13th & 14th Militia Bns. *1st Brigade* (Maj.Gen. Baron de Perponcher Sedlnitsky): 2nd Jäger Bn; 1st & 7th Line Inf Bns; 6th & 12th Militia Bns. *2nd Division* (Lt.Gen. Baron du Pont): *2nd Brigade* (Maj.Gen. F.D.V.Cornabé): 10th Line Inf Bn; 5th, 9th, 10th & 11th Militia Bns. *3rd Brigade* (Maj.Gen. J.A.Stedman): 6th Line Inf Bn; 3rd, 7th, 8th & 15th Militia Bns. *Artillery* (Col. C.A.Gunkel): 4 foot batteries, x8 guns each. *Cavalry* (Lt.Col. W.Boreel): 1 company Gardes du Corps; 1 squadron each of Hussar, Light Dragoon & Dragoon regiments.

The Peace of Paris

When Napoleon abdicated for the first time, and France negotiated with the Allies at the Convention of Paris in late April 1814, it was agreed to withdraw all remaining French garrisons, and this was completed by the end of May. At Den Helder, Adm. Ver Huell handed over nine ships of the line, six frigates and several smaller vessels, which would become the backbone of the new Dutch navy.

With the war over the National Guard of Amsterdam was disbanded on 23 May 1814. In July the personnel would be employed to create a battalion of *Elite-Schutterij*, with two companies each of grenadiers and Jägers, which would provide a guard of honour during the visits of the prince-sovereign and the Tsar of Russia.

Under the terms of the Peace of Paris, dated 30 May 1814, Holland received international agreement to the enlargement of its territory. Since the second half of 1813 it had been generally accepted that the North and South Netherlands (effectively, modern Holland and modern Belgium) would be united under the House of Orange, and on 21 June this was officially confirmed by the Protocol of London – a decision formally accepted by the prince-sovereign on 21 July. In the meantime, on 8 July, the Prince Regent of Great Britain had proposed the prince-sovereign's eldest son, Prince William, as commander-in-chief of the British and Hanoverian army of occupation in Belgium, replacing Gen. Graham. A week later Prince Frederik was named commander-in-chief of the Dutch army in the South Netherlands. As from 1 August, when authority formally passed to the prince-sovereign from Baron von

Vincent, the Austrian governor-general of Belgium, Prince Frederik's command would consist of:

1st Brigade (Maj.Gen. F.D.V.Cornabé) *Headquarters* 's-Hertogenbosch (Sept., to Maastricht): 1st & 7th Line Inf Bns; 6th & 14th Militia Bns; 1 battery of foot artillery; 2 squadrons of 1st Dragoon Regt. *2nd Brigade* (Maj.Gen. H.G. Baron de Perponcher Sedlnitsky) *Headquarters* Bergen-op-Zoom (Sept., to Namur): 5th Line Inf Bn; 3rd, 12th & 16th Militia Bns; 1 battery of foot artillery; 2 squadrons of Hussar Regt. *3rd Brigade* (Maj.Gen. J.A.Stedman) *Headquarters* Maastricht: 2nd Jäger Bn; 6th Line Inf Bn; 13th & 15th Militia Bns; 1 battery of foot artillery; 2 squadrons of Light Dragoon Regt.

Several less important units were being disbanded now that liberation had been achieved. On 17 June 1814 the Gardes du Corps were disbanded; they were allowed to continue wearing their uniforms, and those who stayed in the army received one rank higher. Five days later the two companies of Oranje-Jägers were discharged with honour; and in July it was the turn of Prince Frederik's Jägers.

Among those returning Dutch soldiers who had fought for Napoleon, the former Corps of Vélites became an independent unit within the Dutch army. They had within their ranks the former Pupils of the Imperial Guard – known before 1810 as the Royal Dutch Vélites Legion.

Army re-organisation of September 1814

On 23 September 1814 yet another re-organisation was announced. Now the North Netherlands would provide 12 Line Infantry, four Jäger and 20 Militia battalions, each battalion of six companies (two flank and four centre companies) plus one depot company. Each company was led by a captain and two lieutenants, and comprised one sergeant-major, one quartermaster, four sergeants, eight corporals, two drummers, one fifer and 108 privates. The Corps of Vélites was disbanded. In October the following changes were made to existing units:

10th Line Inf Bn – absorbed into 2nd Line Inf Bn
12th Line Inf Bn – absorbed into 4th Line Inf Bn
14th Line Inf Bn – absorbed into 6th Line Inf Bn
16th Line Inf Bn – absorbed into 8th Line Inf Bn
3rd Jäger Bn – (with a few of the Vélites) absorbed into 6th Jäger Bn; but as most soldiers of the 3rd were of Belgian origin they transferred into Belgian units; most of the Vélites passed into the 5th Jägers.
4th Jäger Bn – absorbed into 1st Jäger Bn.

Four Swiss regiments were also raised; these would not serve in the field during the 1815 campaign, being too recently organised, but they would perform garrison duties, freeing other regiments for field service.

From 17 November 1814, the Dragoon regiments were redesignated as Carabiniers (heavy cavalry); the other two regiments became Light Horse units (Chevau-légers). All four regiments had four squadrons, each of two companies, plus a regimental depot company. The Hussars took the number 4, and a new Hussar regiment destined for the East Indies colonies received the number 5. The artillery was to have five Line foot battalions, four Militia foot battalions and one horse artillery corps, each of six companies except the 4th Line Arty Bn, with five companies; the 5th Line Arty Bn was raised for service in the East Indies. The sappers and miners were doubled to two companies each.

Army re-organisation of January 1815

The background to what might appear a chaotic process of 'permanent revolution' within the army was the political manoeuvring surrounding the planned future of Holland and Belgium. A unified state with a unified army was the goal of powerful forces in the Netherlands; but the troubled and divided histories of the different provinces made this a contentious project – not least, among the Belgian soldiers from the South Netherlands. A first step was announced on 15 January 1815, when the Dutch (North Netherlands) Line Infantry and Jäger battalions were renumbered into a single sequence from 1st to 34th, including the units intended for the colonies. Units redesignated were the following:

5th Line Inf Bn	– became 12th
A new infantry unit destined for the East Indies	– became 5th Line Regt
Two new Jäger battalions for the West Indies	– became 10th & 11th
11th Line Inf Bn	– became 14th
1st, 2nd & 5th Jäger Bns	– became 16th, 17th & 18th
Eight new infantry battalions for the East Indies	– became 19th to 26th
6th Jäger Bn	– became 27th
Regt Orange-Nassau	– became 28th Regt
Nassau-Usingen Light Inf Regt	– not numbered
Swiss Regt of Bern	– became 29th
Swiss Regt of Zürich	– became 30th
Swiss Regt of Graubunden	– became 31st
Swiss Regt of Roman Catholic cantons	– became 32nd
Colonial Depot Bn	– became 33rd
Garrison Bn	– became 34th

In mid-February 1815 a picked Corps of Guides was attached to the staff to act as couriers in the field. Ten days later the 2nd Militia Arty Bn was disbanded.

The final political step was taken on 15 February 1815, when the Allied powers, meeting at the Congress of Vienna, agreed to the creation of the unified Kingdom of the Netherlands, which was now to be supported to form a buffer state against France. The fledgeling kingdom's ability to do so would be put to the test within a startlingly short time: on 1 March 1815 Napoleon returned to France from exile on Elba, and raised his flag.

Major-General Dominique J.de Eerens (1781–1840); note the very broad gold lace on the collar, and the two silver stars of rank on the gold epaulettes. Making his career under King Lodewijk, he entered Napoleon's Imperial Guard in 1810. In 1812 he was chief of staff of the 2nd Infantry Division of the Guard in Russia; in 1813 he was chief of staff of the X Corps Cavalry. Captured in Germany, he was dismissed from French service on 24 January 1814. As an experienced soldier he was soon promoted from lieutenant-colonel to major-general in the Dutch service in April 1815. During the battle of Waterloo he commanded the 2nd Bde, 1st Netherlands Div, which remained in reserve at Halle. (Stichting Iconografisch Bureau, The Hague)

UNIFORM REGULATIONS PRE-1815

During the first year of independence the Dutch army wore a mixture of uniforms. Rank distinctions followed the French system; silver and gold distinctions followed the colour of the buttons (brass or white metal). All cockades were orange, and officers of all arms wore sashes in the same colour. With the incorporation of the units from the South Netherlands (Belgium), the uniforms remained unchanged except for the Swiss regiments. Existing iconography is nearly all based on e.g. the Teupken plates published in about 1823; readers should note

that documentary and pictorial sources include many small contradictions of detail.

Staff:

Generals Plain black cocked hat, white feather plume. Dark blue long-tailed, single-breasted coat; nine flat gilt buttons; poppy-red open collar, cuffs, turnbacks and lining; collar and cuffs edged with broad gold lace. White waistcoat; grey breeches; light cavalry boots 'à la Souvarov'; greatcoat with poppy-red collar, two rows of five gilt buttons. Pair gold epaulettes: full generals with four silver stars, lieutenant-generals three, major-generals two.

Staff officers The same but with crimson instead of poppy-red facings; narrower gold edging on collar and cuffs; pair field officers' epaulettes without stars. Gilt buttons and shako plate.

Adjutants to the king The same but without gold edging; two gold embroidered loops on collar and cuffs; buttons bearing crowned royal cypher 'W'. Black French-style shako with gilt cut-out crowned 'W', black plume.

Staff aides-de-camp The same but with silver distinctions, and S-shaped foliate loops on collar and cuffs.

Godert A.G.P.Baron van de Capellen (1778–1848); although this diplomat had no military past, he is represented here in the uniform of a general officer - note that the broad gold lace almost covers the red facings at collar and cuffs. The son of a chamberlain to the last *Stadhouder*, William V, Van de Capellen began his career as an administrator; secretary-general of the department of Utrecht in 1807, he served Napoleon's brother King Lodewijk as minister of the interior in 1809–10. Upon the annexation of Holland into the Empire he left political life, returning in 1813–14 to become the representative for the Netherlands at the Congress of Vienna; he would also serve as commissioner to the Allies in Belgium in 1815. This portrait was painted during the Congress of Vienna, but was destroyed during World War II. (Stichting Iconografisch Bureau, The Hague)

Cavalry:

Dragoons Plain black cocked hat, white plume. Dark blue long-tailed, single-breasted coat; white metal buttons bearing regimental numbers; white waistcoat; grey trousers. Facings: 1st Regt – collar, cuffs, lapels and lining pink-red; 3rd Regt – collar, cuffs, lapels and lining yellow.

Light Dragoons Black shako, white cords and tassels, brass crowned 'W', black plume. Dark blue short-tailed coat; collar, cuffs and lining poppy-red; three rows of white metal buttons with white braid. White waistcoat; grey trousers or white breeches; black hussar boots. White leather equipment.

Hussars Black shako, yellow cords and tassels, brass crowned 'W', black plume. Dark blue pelisse, black fur trim; sky-blue dolman – both with brass buttons, yellow lace. Sky-blue breeches; black hussar boots.

Infantry:

Line Black shako, brass plate with crowned 'W'. Dark blue short-tailed, single-breasted, English-style coatee with collar, cuffs, piping and lining in facing colours; white waistcoat; grey trousers; grey overcoat; short black gaiters; brass buttons; white leather equipment. Facings:
1st & 9th Bns – orange; 2nd & 10th Bns – white; 3rd & 11th Bns – yellow; 4th & 12th Bns – poppy-red; 5th & 13th Bns – crimson; 6th & 14th Bns – light green; 7th & 15th Bns – light blue; 8th & 16th Bns – pink-red.

The 1st & 2nd Bns of Liège-Walloons had white collar, cuffs and piping, poppy-red lining, and buttons with battalion numbers.

Garrison Battalion Same as Line Infantry but with red piping; dark blue collar, cuffs and lining; brass buttons bearing 'G.B.'. Plain shako without plume or pompon.

Jägers Dark green short-tailed jacket with battalion-colour facings; brass buttons. Same accoutrements and equipment as Line Infantry but with

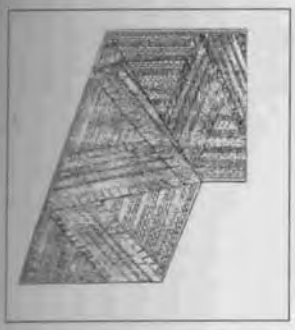
black leather belts. Facings: 1st & 4th Bns – Orange; 2nd & 5th Bns – Yellow; 3rd & 6th Bns – Poppy-red.

Artillery:

Horse Artillery Black shako, yellow cords and tassels, brass plate bearing crowned 'W', black plume. Dark blue short-tailed, single-breasted jacket; collar and cuffs black; lining and piping red; shoulder rolls laced with yellow; brass buttons. Dark blue waistcoat; grey breeches with black hussar knot on thighs; hussar boots.

Foot Artillery Black shako, brass plate bearing crowned 'W'. Dark blue long-tailed, single-breasted coat; collar and cuffs black; lining and piping red. Dark blue waistcoat. Brass buttons bearing crossed cannons. Grey trousers; short black gaiters; all leather equipment white.

Train Black shako, white metal plate bearing crowned 'W'. Grey short-tailed, single-breasted jacket; collar and cuffs black; piping and lining red. Grey waistcoat, breeches and overcoat. White metal buttons bearing crossed cannons; all leather equipment black.



Again from the 1823 regulations, a detail of the gold 'ribbon-fold' lace which edged the collar and cuffs of general officers' uniforms.

Engineers

Black shako, brass plate bearing crowned 'W'. Pike-blue long-tailed, single-breasted coat; collar and cuffs black; piping and lining red; waistcoat and trousers pike-blue; brass buttons. Boots for Pontonniers, shoes and short black gaiters for Sappers & Miners; all leather equipment black.

1815: THE KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS

On 16 March 1815 the prince-sovereign became King William I of the Netherlands, and his eldest son received the title of Prince of Orange. The king's first decree, of 17 March, was destined to mobilise in total 30 infantry battalions, ten artillery batteries and ten squadrons of cavalry.

One week later the militia was re-organised, becoming known as the National Militia. Militia battalions 1, 2, 3, 4 & 5 kept their numbers. Numbers 16, 6, 12, 15 and 14 became numbers 6 to 10 respectively. The 11th Bn kept its number, but the 8th, 9th, 7th, 13th, 20th, 19th, 17th, 18th and 10th Bns became numbers 12 to 20 respectively.

On 26 March, Prince Frederik was given command of all North and South Netherlands troops, under supervision of his elder brother the Prince of Orange, now commander-in-chief of all Allied troops in the Netherlands. This took effect from 4 April – the same day that the Duke of Wellington arrived in Brussels.

With Napoleon posing such an obvious threat to the new kingdom, national feeling ran high in the North Netherlands; volunteer units like the Schutterij were re-organised. The first company of each Schutterij battalion would now be flankers, and the last one might be an artillery company. The battalion from The Hague was ready to serve with the army on 29 March; one from Brielle offered its services on 1 April, and these would be followed by volunteer companies from other cities, often around 120 strong. Some of these were the Arnhem Volunteer Rifle Corps, the Rotterdam Volunteer Rifle Company, and the Volunteer

Field officer of the National Militia – cf Plate G3. Note the crowned 'W' on the shako plate, in place of the motto worn by rankers; and the flapped cuff. Epaulettes were silver, as in the Dutch Line. (Stichting Iconografisch Bureau, The Hague)

Mounted Rifle Company of Amsterdam. Even smaller were the Frisian Volunteer Rifle Corps, some 65 strong, the Volunteer Rifle Company of Utrecht Students, with 40 youths, and the 42-strong Volunteer Mounted Rifle Company of Utrecht. Men of the Brussels Schutterij served as guards in the city to replace regular troops.

Army re-organisation of April 1815

In April the 1st, 3rd and 4th Line Infantry battalions were dissolved. Their corporals and men were transferred into the 8th, 14th and 9th Line battalions; the officers, senior NCOs, drummers and fifers were taken over by the Commissioner-General for War of the South Netherlands – i.e., became available as cadres for basically Belgian units. The same happened to the 7th Line Inf Bn, the corporals and men passing into the 15th Line Battalion. On 21 April the 4th Line Artillery Bn was also disbanded; three of its companies were destined for the East Indies.

Also from 21 April, some units were renumbered yet again, and now definitively (see Table), to include both Dutch and Belgian corps in a single sequence for the new Netherlands Army, together with the units raised for garrison duties in the Indies (note, as always, that at this date the terms North and South Netherlands were used rather than Dutch and Belgian).

Netherlands Army from 21 April 1815:

Cavalry Regiments

(Dutch)	1st Carabiniers	– unchanged
(Belgian)	Carabiniers	– became 2nd
(Dutch)	3rd Carabiniers	– unchanged
(Dutch)	2nd Light Dragoons	– became 4th
(Belgian)	Chevau-légers	– became 5th Lt Drgns
(Dutch)	4th Hussars	– became 6th
(East Indies)	5th Hussars	– became 7th
(Belgian)	Hussars	– became 8th
(Belgian)	Militia Carabiniers	– un-numbered

Infantry Battalions

(Belgian)	1st Line Inf Bn	– unchanged
(Dutch)	2nd Line Inf Bn	– unchanged
(Belgian)	2nd Line Inf Bn	– became 3rd
(Belgian)	4th Line Inf Bn	– unchanged
(East Indies)	5th Line Regt	– unchanged
(Dutch)	6th Line Inf Bn	– unchanged
(Belgian)	7th Line Inf Bn	– unchanged
(Dutch)	8th Line Inf Bn	– unchanged
(Dutch)	9th Line Inf Bn	– unchanged
(West Indies)	10th Jäger Bn	– unchanged
(West Indies)	11th Jäger Bn	– unchanged
(Dutch)	12th Line Inf Bn	– unchanged
(Dutch)	13th Line Inf Bn	– unchanged
(Dutch)	14th Line Inf Bn	– unchanged
(Dutch)	15th Line Inf Bn	– unchanged
(Dutch)	16th Jäger Bn	– unchanged
(Dutch)	17th Jäger Bn	– unchanged
(Dutch)	18th Jäger Bn	– unchanged
(East Indies)	19th to 26th Bns	– unchanged
(Dutch)	27th Jäger Bn	– unchanged
Regt Orange-Nassau		– became 28th Regt
29th to 32nd Swiss Regts		– unchanged
33rd (Colonial Depot) Bn		– unchanged
34th (Garrison) Bn		– unchanged
(Belgian)	5th Jäger Bn	– became 35th *
(Belgian)	10th Jäger Bn	– became 36th *
Nassau-Usingen Light Inf Regt		– remained un-numbered

(* = Jäger bns termed Chasseurs in Belgian sources)

Artillery

Line Artillery Battalions (of 6 companies):	
Former Dutch bns	– 1st, 2nd & 3rd Bns
Former Belgian bn	– 4th Bn
East Indies bn	– 5th Bn
Former 4th Bn	– 6th Bn (3 companies for West Indies)
Train Bns (of 6 companies)	
Former Dutch bn – 1st Bn	
Former Belgian bn	– 2nd Bn
Militia Artillery Bns (of 6 companies)	
Former Dutch 1st Bn	– unchanged
Former Belgian 1st Bn	– became 2nd
Former Dutch 3rd Bn	– unchanged
Former Dutch 4th Bn	– unchanged
Former Belgian 2nd Bn	– 5th Bn
Former Belgian 3rd Bn	– 6th Bn
Horse Artillery Corps (of 8 companies)	
6 former Dutch companies, 2 former Belgian companies	

On 9 January 1815 new uniform regulations were introduced. However, in the hurry of mobilisation the army could not be generally fitted out as the new regulations prescribed, and a mixture of old and new uniforms were certainly worn in the field. Once again, the following should be understood as one of a number of differing versions found in various sources:

Staff: Uniforms for generals, ADCs and staff officers did not change from those worn before 1815.

Cavalry:

Carabiniers Ordered to wear a short-tailed, dark blue *habit-veste* with red facings, but the Dutch regiments retained their old Dragoon uniform: plain black cocked hat, white plume. Dark blue long-tailed coat with facings in regimental colours; horizontal pockets; white fringed epaulettes; white metal buttons. Grey overalls with white buttons worn over boots. White sword belts of 'Hungarian pattern', worn under the coat. White gauntlets. Dutch regimental facings: 1st Carabiniers: collar, cuffs, lining and turnbacks pink. 3rd Carabiniers: collar, cuffs and turnbacks lemon-yellow; lining poppy-red.

All officers wore an orange waist sash. Trumpeters wore reversed colours (pink or yellow coats with blue facings). The warrant of February 1814 mentioned that trumpeters were to wear 'swallow's nest' shoulder wings of dark blue with silver-white lace and fringes. Both regiments had the same horse furniture: white sheepskin saddle cover with 'wolf's teeth' in facing colours; dark blue half-saddle cloth with white lace edging and a grenade in the corner; dark blue valise with white lace edging.

Light Dragoons Black French-style shako; white top band, cords, flounders, and tassels; black plume; white metal cut-out crowned 'W', white metal chin scales. Dark blue short-tailed 'karaco' jacket; three rows of nine white metal buttons, white lace; collar, pointed cuffs, lining and turnbacks poppy-red, the latter linked together by white bugle-horn emblems. Collar and back seams piped with ornate white lace; cuff piping ended in Hungarian knots, as did skirt vents; shoulder straps and vertical pockets edged white. For field dress, grey overalls with leather reinforcement replaced white breeches and hussar boots. Black pouch on white pouch- and carbine-belt; white hussar sword belt, black plain sabretache (probably not worn at Waterloo). Trumpeters wore red uniforms with dark blue cuffs and collar, poppy-red lining, dark blue epaulettes with silver lace edging and silver-white fringes. Officers had silver epaulettes, shako cords and lacing; red leather pouch belt decorated with silver lace; orange waist sash. Horse furniture consisted of a white sheepskin with red 'wolf's teeth'; dark blue hussar-style shabraque edged in white with a red stripe, white crowned 'W' in pointed corners; dark blue cylindrical valise edged white. Officers had black sheepskins, and silver-edged shabraques.

Hussars Black French-style shako; mixed yellow/black top band, cord, tassels and flounders; brass cut-out crowned 'W', brass chin scales; black plume – for officers, black with white top. Sky-blue dolman with collar and cuffs of the same; brass buttons; mixed black/yellow lace; yellow

An aide-de-camp to the Prince of Orange. Winand Aerts, a specialist on 1815 campaign uniforms, does not record his sources, but gives this ADC an Austrian-style shako, with a cut-out gilt royal cypher, orange cockade and black plume. The uniform resembles that of a general or staff officer, in dark blue with red facings and lining, but instead of the gold lace edging bears two gold embroidered loops on the collar and cuffs – shown here as straight *litzen*. (Author's collection)

Gunner of the Netherlands foot artillery, by J.Hari. Uniforms for the foot artillery were the same for the North and South Netherlands units, which formed a single corps. The shako is of the Austrian type – note the unique shape of the plate; and the good impression of the cut of the trousers. (Author's collection)

piping. Dark blue pelisse with black fur trim, decorated like the dolman. Sky-blue breeches; black hussar boots. Instead of grey overalls as prescribed, the 6th Hussars wore dark blue overalls with yellow stripes. White and orange barrel sash. Plain black sabretache with yellow metal royal cypher. Sword-, pouch- and carbine belts of white leather. Trumpeters wore black busbies, with white plume and red bag; red dolman, sky-blue pelisse; dark blue overalls; and had sky-blue shabraques. Officers had gold lacing and piping and gilt metal on uniforms and shakos; blue cloth sabretache with double gold lace edging and gold royal cipher. Horse furniture included a white sheepskin (black for officers) with red 'wolf's teeth'; red shabraque edged with yellow/black/yellow lace and with yellow royal cypher in the corners; cylindrical sky-blue valise edged with yellow/black lace.

Infantry:

Line Battalions Black Austrian-style shako with front and rear peaks, brass plate bearing battalion number, white pompon. Dark blue short-tailed, single-breasted, English-style coatee; nine brass buttons bearing battalion number; collar, cuffs and piping white; lining poppy-red. White waistcoat; grey trousers; short grey gaiters; grey greatcoat. All leather equipment white. Officers wore single right (company grade) or paired (field grade) silver epaulettes, and orange sashes. *Flank companies* the same but with dark blue shoulder rolls laced with white, and green-over-white shako pompons. Line Infantry fifers and drummers had white 'swallow's nests' with yellow lace decoration.

Garrison Battalion Same as Line, but red piping; dark blue collar, cuffs and lining; brass buttons bearing number '34'. No shako plume or pompon.

Jägers Black Austrian-style shako with front and rear peaks, cut-out brass bugle-horn below cut-out battalion number, green pompon. Dark green short-tailed, single-breasted jacket; nine brass buttons bearing battalion number; collar, cuffs and piping lemon-yellow; lining and turnbacks poppy-red; cuff patches and shoulder straps green with yellow piping. Green waistcoat; grey trousers; short grey gaiters; grey overcoat. *Flank companies* the same but with dark green shoulder rolls laced with red and yellow-over-green shako pompons. Equipment as Line Infantry but in black leather. Jäger cornets' (hornists') 'swallow's nests' were green with yellow lace.

Regiment Orange-Nassau Uniform as for Militia, dark blue with poppy-red facings; buttons bearing number '28'. French shako, cords white, white metal plate (and chin scales?), white plume. White French campaign trousers and leather equipment.

Nassau-Usingen Light Infantry Regiment (By June this unit had taken the number '2nd'.) Green single-breasted jacket; black collar and turnbacks; green waistcoat and trousers – all with yellow piping; short black gaiters. Grenadiers had red, Jägers green epaulettes; fusiliers black shoulder straps piped yellow. Grenadiers wore colpack busbies with red cords, bag and plume; Jägers, black shakos with yellow cords and green plume with yellow tip; Fusiliers, black shakos with pompons in various company colours; brass plates of special design. Grey overcoat; ochre-yellow leather equipment. Officers had gold epaulettes and wore an ochre leather sword belt over the right shoulder. Senior officers wore black cocked hats.

Artillery:

Horse Artillery Possibly still the black French-style shako, with either brass crowned crossed cannons, or still the old brass plate with crowned 'W'; black plume. Dark blue short-tailed, single-breasted jacket with double turnbacks; black collar and cuffs; red lining and piping. Gunners had red shoulder rolls, laced with yellow. Grey breeches; hussar style boots; overalls grey with red stripes, yellow metal buttons. Trumpeters wore reversed colours – red jackets with black collar and cuffs, poppy-red lining, and dark blue epaulettes with golden-yellow edging; and black busbies with white plume and red bag. Leather equipment was black, though ordered replaced with white by the warrant of 1815. Horse furniture included a white sheepskin with red 'wolf's teeth'; blue shabraque with yellow edging and royal cypher; blue valise with yellow edging.

Foot Artillery Uniform almost identical to Line Infantry, but collar and cuffs black; turnbacks, piping and lining red; yellow metal buttons. Black shako, yellow metal plate bearing a grenade (shown in several sources as shaped like a lower band to the shako body, rising to a point at front centre), red tuft with black top. Grey trousers; short grey gaiters; all leather equipment white.

Train Jacket of horse artillery pattern but grey; black collar and cuffs; red turnbacks, lining and piping; white metal buttons. French-style shako, white metal plate and chin scales, no ornaments except black plume. Grey overalls, striped red, black leather reinforcements; all leather equipment black; light cavalry sabre, probably British. Trumpeters wore red jackets with black collar and cuffs, poppy-red lining, and dark blue epaulettes with golden-yellow edging.

Lieutenant of the Train. The Austrian-style shako is shown with a white-tipped black plume and a white metal crown above crossed cannons; coatee buttons and epaulette are silver. As with the artillery, there was no difference in uniform between North and South Netherlands troops in this corps. The red piping on the grey, black-faced drivers' uniforms was applied around the shoulder straps, collar, cuffs and cuff flaps, down the front edge, on the tail pockets, and on the skirt vents from the rear waist buttons. (Collection of the Belgian Royal Army Museum, Brussels)

Militia:

Infantry Black shako of British 'stovepipe' pattern; semi-circular white metal plate bearing 'Voor Vaderland en Oranje'; white pompon. Short, single-breasted, dark blue coatee; orange collar, cuffs and piping; white lining; white metal buttons bearing battalion numbers; dark blue shoulder straps piped orange. Officers generally wore long-tailed, single-breasted coats and orange sashes. Rank distinctions in French style, in silver for officers and white for NCOs.

Artillery As Line foot artillery but with Militia shako and plate; grey trousers; short grey gaiters.

Weapons

The French M1777 musket was the most common firearm in use; shortages were made up with supplies of the British India Pattern musket. From August 1814 onwards the Dutch M1815 would be manufactured at Liège, Delft and Antwerp. The 1815 model was an improved French An IX Dragoon musket intended for the Jägers, Sappers and Miners. The infantry also received numbers of an improved M1777 musket, of which two variants were made: a long model for the Line Infantry, and a shorter one for the Schutterij. Infantry sappers received the modified Gendarmerie carbine of An IX pattern.

The light cavalry were issued an improved French M1786 carbine. A new 1815 model pistol was made, without a ramrod. Swords were normally of the British 1796 light cavalry model, though officers sometimes ordered privately made weapons based on elegant French styles. The

Drummer boy of a Militia flank company, after Winand Aerts. As so often, there are differences from the 'regulation' – cf Plate G2. Aerts shows a dark blue German-style forage cap with orange band and crown-piping. The dark blue coatee has an orange collar; orange piping at the front and bottom edges and round the top of dark blue cuffs, between two white metal buttons; white turnbacks; dark blue shoulder straps and rolls edged and decorated with narrow orange lace; white 'swallow's nests' with white fringe and lace decoration. Dark grey trousers and short gaiters; white apron, belts and haversack; dark sky-blue canteen on brown strap. The hoops of the brass drum are painted in red, blue and white triangles in the Line style. (Author's collection)

Carabiniers received French heavy cavalry An XI and XIII model swords. Gunners, and some infantrymen as appropriate (musicians, some flankers?), were armed with the traditional French *sabre briquet*.

THE HUNDRED DAYS CAMPAIGN

(Readers are recommended to study this book in parallel with MAA 355 *Wellington's Belgian Allies 1815*, which gives a detailed account of the part played by the Belgian units at Quatre-Bras, and by the Netherlands army as a whole at Waterloo. Since Dutch and Belgian units fought side by side within the same brigades, this book details the specifically Dutch contribution at Quatre-Bras but avoids repetition of the Waterloo account in order to give more space in these pages to uniform details.)

On 3 May 1815 at Braine-le-Comte the Prince of Orange took over command of all Netherlands troops from his brother Frederik. Two days later, the Duke of Wellington was given command over all Allied troops in the Netherlands; thus the formal prerogatives of the prince of a sovereign nation were honoured, while the Allies' most experienced fighting general was given actual control of the direction of the armies. To establish this authority the King of the Netherlands gave Wellington the Netherlands rank of marshal on 7 May.

The plan of the Allies was to wait for the arrival on France's far borders of the Russian and Austrian armies which were preparing to attack from the east; then the Anglo-Netherlands troops under Wellington, and the Prussian army commanded by Marshal Blücher, would advance from the Low Countries towards Paris.

In this campaign the Netherlands troops would not operate – like the Prussians – as an independent force. The British government still felt some distrust towards Dutch and Belgian veterans of Napoleon's armies, who had been serving the emperor until just a year before; there was always a nagging doubt that they might change sides. Wellington put the Indies Bde and the 1st Netherlands Div, under command of Prince Frederik, into Lord Hill's II Corps; the rest of the Netherlands contingent would serve with I Corps, which was under the command of the Prince of Orange. With only about one-quarter of his total forces British, and the rest from the North and South Netherlands, Nassau, Brunswick and Hanover, Wellington had some reason to be uneasy about his heterogeneous command (this was the context of his often misunderstood remark about his 'infamous army'). He was determined not to suffer from last-minute desertions, as Napoleon had done at Leipzig in 1813. In a British report, probably by Wellington himself, one finds proof of the distrust in which he held some of his allies:

'The Ministry of War, with Gen. Janssens, is badly organised. The past of this officer is something to be doubtful about and now bad councillors surround him. All the commanders are known to be French-minded. The officers in Belgium, serving under Gen. Tindal, are also not to be trusted. Belgian troops are bad, one cannot count on them. The best thing to do is to place them in a second line of defence. How can one trust generals like Evers and the entire officer's corps? Why don't they dismiss useless and dangerous elements like Gen. Chassé, Gens. Storm de Grave and Martuchewitz?'

There are still many unanswered questions about the dress of Militia (and Line) infantry at Waterloo. For instance, in the Public Records Office at Kew, England, is 'A return of Clothing to be sent to Ostend' (Belgium), dated 26 April 1815 and including: '5000 blue cloth jackets with Red Facings. 5000 white kersey waistcoat. Blue cloth trousers...', etc. 'PS: the Jackets have red Cuffs & Collars and are edged with Red down the front and skirts, have only one row of Yellow buttons on the Breast and are without any Lace. The Buttons are numbered to suit regiments of 1000 Men each No.66 to 70 and the Caps are numbered on the Plates in a similar manner' (PRO/WO 1/855 p319–320). Five thousand sets is an important shipment, for an army totalling some 30,000 men; yet the description resembles no known uniform of the Dutch or Belgian troops.

Other items listed in the Ostend order include 5,000 pairs half-gaiters, black cloth; 5,000 felt caps with plumes, 'of the old pattern'; 5,000 blue cloth forage caps; 5,000 knapsacks and straps; 5,000 stocks with clasps; 10,000 linen shirts; 10,000 pairs half-hose; 10,000 grey kersey greatcoats; 10,000 greatcoat straps, and 20,000 pairs of shoes. Clearly, everything necessary to dress and accoutre 5,000 men from head to foot was sent from England; but for which units?

While these harsh suspicions are perhaps understandable, they need to be put in context. Some senior Netherlands officers, such as De Constant Rebecque and De Perponcher, had fought with the British in Spain or at Walcheren. Major-General van Bylandt and Col. Detmers had served with the British Army since 1795; Lt.Col. Boreel was one of the many officers who returned to the colours in 1813–14 without a Napoleonic chapter in their histories. Most of the other officers were veterans of the Batavian Republic or the Kingdom of Holland under Louis Bonaparte, and afterwards of the Grande Armée. Chassé was indeed known to be anti-British. The Prince of Saxe-Weimar had fought with Napoleon at Wagram in 1809 against the Austrians, and had been personally decorated with the Legion of Honour by the emperor. At the battle of Leipzig in 1813, however, Saxony had turned against the French; Prince Bernhard entered Holland with Von Bülow's Prussians. In the event, most of the Netherlands officers with Napoleonic pasts proved eager to fight in order to prove their loyalty to the new monarchy.

The army of the Netherlands for the Waterloo campaign was as follows; units marked * were of Belgian origin; Nassau units are identified; the remainder were of Dutch origin:

Commander-in-chief Prince William of Orange
Commander of 1st Division & Indies Brigade Prince Frederik
Chief of staff to Prince William Maj.Gen. J.V. Baron de Constant Rebecque
CoS to Prince Frederik Col. L.A.B. Count van St Aldegonde

Forming part of II Corps (Lt.Gen. Lord Hill):
Indies Bde (Lt.Gen. C.H.W.Anthing):
5th Line Inf Regt
1st Flankers Bn*
10th & 11th Jäger Bns
1 battery foot artillery
(The Flankers Bn was made up of detached companies from 19th to 24th Bns of the East Indies colonial infantry)
1st Netherlands Division (Lt.Gen. J.A.Stedman):
1st Bde (Maj.Gen. B.d'Hauw):
16th Jäger Bn
4th* & 6th Line Inf Bns
9th, 14th & 15th Militia Bns
2nd Bde (Maj.Gen. D.J.de Berens):
18th Jäger Bn
1st Line Inf Bn*
1st, 2nd & 18th Militia Bns
Foot artillery battery (Capt. P.Wynands)

Forming part of I Corps (Prince of Orange):
2nd Netherlands Division (Lt.Gen. H.G. Baron de Perponcher Sedlnitsky):
1st Bde (Maj.Gen. W.F. Count van Bylandt):
27th Jäger Bn
7th Line Inf Bn*
5th, 7th & 8th Militia Bns
2nd Bde (Prince Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar *vice* Col W.F.von Goedecke):

2nd Nassau-Usingen Light Inf Regt (3 bns)
28th Orange-Nassau Regt (2 bns)
Orange-Nassau Volunteer Jäger Company
Foot artillery battery (Capt. E.J.Stevenart)*
Horse artillery battery (Capt. A.Bijleveld)
3rd Netherlands Division
(Lt.Gen.D.H.Baron Chassé):
1st Bde (Col. H.Detmers):
35th Jäger Bn*
2nd Line Inf Bn
4th, 6th, 17th & 19th Militia Bns
2nd Bde (Maj.Gen. A.K.J.G. Count d'Aubremé):
36th Jäger Bn*
3rd*, 12th & 13th Line Inf Bns
3rd & 10th Militia Bns
Foot artillery battery (Capt. J.H.Lux)
Horse artillery battery
(Capt. C.F.Krahmer de Bichin)*
Netherlands Cavalry Division
(Lt.Gen. J.A. Baron de Collaert):
Heavy Cavalry Bde (Maj.Gen. Jonkheer A.D.Trip):
1st, 2nd* & 3rd Carabiniers
1st Light Cavalry Bde
(Maj.Gen. C.E. Baron de Ghigny):
4th Light Dragoons
8th Hussars*
2nd Light Cavalry Bde
(Maj.Gen. J.B. Baron van Merlen):
5th Light Dragoons*
6th Hussars
2 half-batteries horse artillery
(Capts. A.Petter & A.R.W. Geij van Pittius)

Reserve Artillery
1 battery foot artillery (12pdrs)
1 battery foot artillery (6pdrs)
Park, Mounted Guides, Maréchaussée, and one company Sappers.

* * *

Napoleon was hugely outnumbered by the slowly gathering Allied armies; and his past campaigns offered plentiful examples of brilliant movements to divide his enemies and defeat them separately before they could concentrate. It is therefore strange that the Allied leaders – although inevitably handicapped by the slow process of preparation among the several different armies – seem not to have taken any urgent precautions against such a surprise stroke. It was planned that the forces in the Netherlands would invade France on 1 July; in the meantime they enjoyed the social life of Brussels, and held parades.

THE 1813 UPRISING

1: Field officer, National Guard of Amsterdam

2: Civilian rebel

3: Staff officer, Army of the United Provinces

A

STAFF, 1815

1: Staff aide-de-camp

2: Corporal, Mounted Guides, campaign dress

3: Prince William of Orange, campaign dress

4: Maj.Gen.Baron de Constant Rebecque

B

HEAVY CAVALRY & ENGINEERS, CAMPAIGN DRESS, 1815

1: Officer, 1st Carabiniers

2: Trooper, 3rd Carabiniers

3: 1st Lieutenant, Corps of Engineers

HUSSARS, 1815

1: NCO, 6th Hussars, full dress

2: Trooper, 6th Hussars, campaign dress

3: Officer, 6th Hussars, campaign dress

D

LINE INFANTRY, CAMPAIGN DRESS, 1815

1: Officer

2: Private

3: Private in foul weather dress

4: Drummer

E

LIGHT DRAGOONS, 1815

1: Trooper, Volunteer Light Dragoons

2: Trooper, 4th Light Dragoons

3: Officer, 4th Light Dragoons

MILITIA, 1815
1: Private, flank company ?
2: Drummer
3: Field officer
1
2
3
P. Lovgaffe

G

NASSAU & COLONIAL TROOPS, 1815

1: Grenadier officer, 2nd Nassau-Usingen Lt Inf

2: Private, (28th) Orange-Nassau Regt

3: Drummer, 2nd Nassau-Usingen Lt Inf

4: Private, Dutch Colonial Infantry

OPPOSITE **Andries W. Baron van Lynden tot Oldenaller (1786–1828), a lieutenant in the 4th Light Dragoons. He wears the dark blue short-tailed jacket called a 'karaco' – somewhat resembling the old British light dragoon braided jacket – with red facings and silver lace. His red leather pouch belt has silver decorations; a single right-hand silver epaulette indicates rank. Born at Arnhem on 11 December 1786, Baron van Lynden entered the French service in 1813, promoted second lieutenant on 5 April 1813; he passed, on 23 January 1814, as a first lieutenant into the Dutch 4th Light Dragoons. He was present at Waterloo, having a horse killed under him. (Stichting Iconografisch Bureau, The Hague)**

OPPOSITE **Colonel Willem F.Boreel (1775–1851). Leaving the Stadhouder's army in 1795 without much battle experience, he rejoined in 1813 and raised a regiment of hussars, taking part in the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. He charged with his 6th Hussars at Quatre-Bras, but the more experienced French cavalry routed them, and they overran their own artillery in their attempts to escape. At Waterloo they saw action against the French cavalry attacks in the centre, coming forward against the Lanciers de la Garde near La Haye Sainte; at the end of the day they supported the advance of Chassé's infantry after the death of their brigade commander, Gen. van Merlen. (Stichting Iconografisch Bureau, The Hague)**

Dinners, balls and concerts succeeded one another, and the gradual concentration of the Anglo-Netherlands and Prussian forces ensured that these pleasant diversions were increasingly decorated by a glitter of uniforms.

The roads were packed with troops marching to their new quarters. The black-uniformed Brunswick contingent took up posts at Laeken, Vilvoorde, Assche and Cobbeghem. On 1 May the 23-year-old Prince Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, colonel of the Regiment Orange-Nassau, arrived in Brussels. A journalist wrote: 'Brussels presents at the moment a very vivid life and very military. In the morning superb parades are viewed at the Place Royale; in the evening all the agreeable promenades, certainly the one of Allée Verte, are packed with carriages, elegant ladies and officers.'

In the streets and coffee-houses, however, the threat of Napoleon's reputation caused widespread unease. On 2 May the roaring of cannon terrified the population. It was a false alarm – the Prussians were exercising, and nervous smiles were soon resumed. To prove that they were serious, the French interrupted the postal services between the Netherlands and Germany. It was not yet war, but even the most optimistic started to foresee the worst.

Marshal Blücher – old, bent, and half-blinded by ophthalmia – came to visit Wellington. On 29 May they reviewed the British cavalry at Grammont, for three hours; Wellington was accompanied by his cavalry commander Lord Uxbridge, Blücher, the Prince of Orange (saluted by 21 guns), the dukes of Brunswick and Berry, and Wellington's friend the Duke of Richmond, followed by a multi-coloured galaxy of staff officers. The next grand event would be the ball to be held by the Duchess of Richmond on 15 June.

Wellington regarded a French invasion northwards into Belgium as unlikely; and if it did occur, he guessed that Napoleon would direct his troops north-west towards Binche or Mons, potentially threatening the British rear lines to the Channel ports. The Dutch chief of staff, De Constant Rebecque, held another opinion. During an inspection of the Belgian-French border in 1814 the quartermaster-general of Gen. Graham's British force in Belgium, Col. Hudson Lowe, had pointed out that Charleroi was a key point for any eventual invasion and that it should be heavily fortified. It was the nearest place to the frontier, and on a direct road to Brussels. Following this road north, the next key point on the map was the crossroads of Quatre-Bras.

From his first days as commander of I Corps the Prince of Orange and his chief of staff issued orders – on 4, 6 and 9 May – for the concentration of his corps, in case of a French attack, to protect the strategic road junction at Quatre-Bras. From there they could control the south-north road from Charleroi to Brussels, and maintain lateral contact between the Anglo-Netherlands army in the west and Blücher's Prussians to the east.

The order of 6 May instructed Gen. de Perponcher, commander of the 2nd Netherlands Div, that in case of an alert his 1st Bde was to concentrate at Nivelles and the 2nd at Quatre-Bras. The following day De Perponcher's brigades received their specific positions to take in case of an alert. However, communications could be a serious handicap: Col. van Zuylen van Nyevelt, De Perponcher's chief of staff, mentions in his

Staff officer of field rank, showing the uniform with red collar bordered in narrower gold lace than that displayed by general officers – cf Plate B4. (Collection of the Belgian Royal Army Museum, Brussels)

diaries that not one officer on his staff spoke Dutch (rather than French). On 9 May another despatch ordered De Perponcher to keep his division at Nivelles but in such a way that the 2nd Bde could occupy Quatre-Bras at short notice. Exercises showed that the troops needed three hours to reach their positions.

The Prince of Orange ordered Gen. Chassé's 3rd Netherlands Div to survey the region between Nivelles and the French border. There were significant signs of increased French activity, but Wellington dismissed them as defensive preparations. Messages on 13 and 14 June mentioned the arrival of Napoleon at Avesnes and a massive concentration of troops near Maubeuge. Wellington still did not react, but the Dutch took their precautions. Scouts were sent out towards the border, and orders were prepared in case a withdrawal became necessary in the face of superior French forces.

Every day from 9 June onwards, Netherlands troops were kept standing-to from 5am until 7pm, the infantry ready to march, the cavalry horses saddled, the artillery ready limbered. Food was cooked on the spot and the soldiers ate in shifts, being allowed only 15 minutes. In the evenings, as all remained quiet, the troops returned to their billets.

QUATRE-BRAS

The morning of 15 June gave every sign of a very warm day. The Prince of Orange, invited by Wellington to Brussels, first paid a visit to the HQ of Gen. van Merlen's Light Cavalry Brigade in an inn at St Symphorien, some 4km east of Mons. Leaving Braine-le-Comte at 5am, he found the general with his chief of staff, Maj. de Paravicini, working his way through the patrol reports: everything was quiet. The prince sent out his orders and concentrated his cavalry in such a way that it could, in case of an alert, cover the roads both north-east towards Nivelles and north-west towards Soignies. Then the prince returned to Braine-le-Comte, where he breakfasted with his chief of staff. At 9.30am he left again, this time for Brussels, to take lunch with Wellington and in the evening to attend the Duchess of Richmond's ball. At around midday on the 15th a Dutch dragoon arrived at the Netherlands HQ on the market square of Braine-le-Comte. He brought a message from Gen. Behr, military commander of Mons, stating that the Prussians had been attacked by the French near Thuin and had been forced to retreat.

In the darkness before dawn Napoleon had crossed the Sambre River and marched into Belgium, with the intention of driving a wedge between the Anglo-Netherlands and Prussian armies; his immediate objective was Charleroi. The Prussian corps of Gen. von Ziethen retired, allowing the French to enter Charleroi at around 10.30am. Hudson Lowe's warnings had been vindicated.

One by one, messages came in from the different commanders in the field that the French had started their invasion. General de Perponcher, without waiting for orders from the absent Prince of Orange, fell back on his standing instructions. He ordered Gen. van Bylandt to march part of his 1st Bde towards Quatre-Bras, where the 2nd Bde was waiting. The first units on the road were the 27th Jäger Bn (Lt.Col. Grunebosch) and 8th

(continued on page 33)

General Jean-Victor Baron de Constant Rebecque (1773–1850); cf Plate B4. This Swiss nobleman narrowly escaped the Tuileries massacre of King Louis XVI's Swiss Guards in 1791; thereafter he fought tirelessly against Revolutionary and Imperial France – in Prussian service from 1795. In 1805 he was appointed military tutor to the future Prince of Orange, accompanying him to the British army in the Peninsula in 1811; he was awarded an honorary doctorate by Oxford University and appointed lieutenant-colonel in the British Army. In November 1814, promoted major-general in the Dutch service, he was appointed QMG and chief of staff to the Prince of Orange. Junior in rank to most of the Netherlands divisional commanders, he had the tact to 'advise' them over their decisions. It was the stubborn moral courage of Gens. de Constant Rebecque and De Perponcher, in contravening Wellington's original campaign orders, which laid the foundation for the eventual link-up of Wellington's and Blücher's armies at Waterloo two days later. Without the time bought for the Allies at Quatre-Bras on 15/16 June, the outcome of the Hundred Days campaign might have been very different. (Author's collection)

Militia Bn (Col. de Jongh). The 5th Militia Bn were at Gosselies, between Frasnes and Charleroi; the sound of cannon fire and musketry brought warning of the French attack on the Prussians, and Lt.Col. Westenberg prepared for battle. Later that day he received orders to move north to Quatre-Bras, where his battalion arrived at about 1am on the night of the 15/16th. The rest of the 1st Bde was to stay near Nivelles; and Gen. de Collaert was to concentrate his Cavalry Division behind the River Haine.

General Behr's message was soon sent onwards to the Prince of Orange in Brussels. Believing that the French attack was likely to be a diversion, Wellington ordered De Constant Rebecque to stop all troop movements and to direct them back to their quarters; they were to be ready to march off at 4am the next morning. When he received this despatch Gen. de Constant Rebecque knew that the prince was acting according to the duke's orders – and that those orders had been given in ignorance. With considerable moral courage, for which the Allied cause would owe him much, the Netherlands chief of staff ignored this order, claiming that it had arrived too late. The vital crossroads would not be abandoned.

The troops took up their positions. Near Frasnes and Quatre-Bras, the 2nd (Nassau) Bde of Prince Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar – who had succeeded to its command only that morning – consisted of:

1st Bn, 2nd Nassau-Usingen Light Inf Regt (Maj. Sattler)
2nd Bn (Maj von Norman)
3rd Bn (Maj Hechmann)
1st Bn, 28th Orange-Nassau Regt (Lt.Col. von Dressel *vice* Prince Bernhard)
2nd Bn (Maj. Schlijer)
Orange-Nassau Volunteer Jäger Company (Capt. Bergmann)
Capt. Stevenart's battery, foot artillery.

Prince Bernhard's HQ and the 1/2nd Nassau Light Inf were at Houtain-le-Val some 3km north-west of Quatre-Bras; the Volunteer Jägers were at Thines, another 5km north-west. The 2/2nd Nassau Light Inf were quartered at Frasnes, some 4km south of Quatre-Bras, with the artillery and train; and the 3rd Bn at Sart-Dames-Avelines, 3km east of the crossroads. The 1st and 2nd Bns, 28th Orange-Nassau Regt were at Genappe, 4km north of Quatre-Bras. These 4,600-odd German and Dutch soldiers were all that stood in the path of the advancing French.

Alerted, several units had marched towards their indicated positions. Prince Bernhard, marching with the Regt Orange-Nassau from Genappe to Quatre-Bras, found the 3/2nd Nassau Light Inf already there. A soldier of the 1st Bde's 7th Militia Bn related: 'We were exercising some distance from Nivelles when, at about 5pm, we heard drums sounding the alarm. Once the battalion was assembled we marched off with the 5th Militia Bn, one Nassau battalion and a Jäger battalion. When the order to march was given a strange feeling overtook us all. One cannot say it was fear, but we were not at ease. Our minds were busy, thinking about our loved ones, about death. Silence overtook us, nobody talked. Closing in on the battlefield, the first shots were heard and we could see the smoke from the cannon. It was as if we all got new courage – our worries faded away

General H.G. Count de Perponcher (1771–1856). After serving as adjutant to the brother of the future King William I in Austrian service, he joined the British in 1799, fighting in Egypt and Zeeland. In 1813 he returned to Holland, and led the 2nd Netherlands Div in 1815. At the moment of the French invasion his 2nd (Nassau) Bde was stationed around Quatre-Bras, whose importance he and the chief of staff De Constant Rebecque appreciated. De Perponcher reacted swiftly to reinforce this strategic crossroads, ignoring Wellington's orders to halt all troop movements on the night of 15 June. The consequent delay to Marshal Ney's advance would have decisive results on both 16 and 18 June. (Author's collection)

when we were confronted by the reality. It was time to meet the enemy. The only words one heard were, 'When I fall, will you tell my family? They live in such-and-such a place...' Everyone knew he could be killed, but once on the battlefield nobody thinks it's going to happen to him.'

Late in the afternoon of the 15th, probing French lancers ran into the 2/2nd Nassau Light Inf at Frasnes, and a skirmish began which became steadily more serious. The resistance of the Nassauers forced the French to march around Frasnes to cut them off. Noting this movement, the 2/2nd Light Inf and Bijleveld's horse artillery battery retreated in good order half way towards Quatre-Bras. With a steady and accurate fire the Dutch horse-gunners kept the French at bay, preventing them from flanking Frasnes. It was not an equal fight, however. For instance, the 2nd Bn, Orange-Nassau Regt were equipped with French muskets but had only ten cartridges per soldier; the Volunteer Jägers had weapons of four different calibres and also carried only ten rounds each; and Bijleveld's gunners had no ammunition at all for their small arms.

Both sides tried to estimate the strength of the other – a difficult task, as the tall crops in the fields masked the troops. Nightfall brought some relief to the tired soldiers.

* * *

Meanwhile in Brussels, during supper at the Duchess of Richmond's ball, the Prince of Orange received a message that the French had attacked his advance guard south of Quatre-Bras. Now the situation was taken seriously, and the prince left for his HQ, where he arrived at 3.30am. His chief of staff had been right: Quatre-Bras now became the pivot of all French moves against the Anglo-Netherlands army.

When the prince arrived at Quatre-Bras, Marshal Ney's French I and II Corps were still bringing up troops. Overestimating the strength of the enemy holding force, they did not dare to attack before they had sufficient men and material at hand. Once the prince arrived he immediately sent for Gen. van Merlen's Light Cavalry Brigade. More or less supporting Wellington's view that Napoleon's main force could still march north-west towards Nivelles, he ordered his chief of staff to gather Gen. Chassé's 3rd Div around that town, relieving the rest of Gen. de Perponcher's division. The 3rd British Div (Gen. Count Alten) were to march west of Nivelles, and Gen. de Collaert's cavalry were placed in front of it. This would cover the Arguennes, Beuzet and Rèves roads against any French moves.

The morning of June 16 had brought more troops to join the little band at Quatre-Bras: the brigade of Gen. van Bylandt – minus the 7th Line Inf, still at Nivelles – and the eight guns of Capt. Stevenart's foot battery. They concealed the weakness of their position by thinly covering a long front. The Duke of Wellington arrived at around 9am, and after inspecting the positions and ordering the prince to hold until relieved, he left for a

meeting with Blücher. It was not until around 1pm that the French started skirmishing; but an hour later, Marshal Ney attacked in force.

The Prince of Orange now had some 8,000 men and 16 guns at his disposal. The British troops were still at Waterloo; they had only received the order to march at about midday, so the various units could only arrive on the battlefield between about 3pm and 10pm that night. Ney, who was constantly receiving reinforcements, began with some 16,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 38 guns available, but failed to exploit this superiority. The longer the Dutch and German soldiers could hold their ground, the stronger the Allied force would become, until by the end of the day they would achieve superiority in troops and matériel.

In the absence of any Allied cavalry except for some 50 Silesian Hussars who had got cut off from the Prussian army, the Netherlands artillery had to play an important part in the defence of the crossroads. When a French attack became apparent, the Netherlands troops were positioned as follows:

Captain Bijleveld's horse artillery battery had five cannon guarding the Charleroi road south of Gémioncourt farm: three, commanded by 1st Lt. Wasserot de Vincy, to the east and two, commanded by 2nd Lt. Dibbetz, to the west of the highway. The other three guns, commanded by 2nd Lt. Koopman, were positioned between Quatre-Bras and the Materne pond, watching the Namur road to the east. Captain Stevenart's foot battery was placed with six guns west of Gémioncourt farm, some distance from the horse artillery; their other two cannon, commanded by Lt. Winssinger, were advanced to the south-west of the crossroads, between Grand Pierrepont and Bossu Wood. The train was gathered behind Quatre-Bras.

The 8th Militia Bn took position along the eastern edge of Bossu Wood and moved into a sunken road, with the 1/2nd Nassau Light Infantry next to them in the southern half of the wood. The 1st Bn, Orange-Nassau Regt was also sent into the southern part of the wood. The 5th Militia Bn moved to a position north of Gémioncourt farm. The 2/2nd Nassau Light Inf was relieved by the regiment's 3rd Bn, which together with the 27th Jägers still held a picket line to the north of Frasnes; the 2/2nd Light Inf went to the crossroads, where the 7th Militia and the 2nd Bn, Orange-Nassau Regt were placed in reserve. The 7th Line Inf arrived at about 2pm from Nivelles, where they had been replaced by Gen. Chassé's troops; this unit was sent into the northern end of Bossu Wood.

* * *

A massed battery of 22 French guns opened fire on Grunebosch's 27th Jägers and the Netherlands artillery. In the meantime French infantry columns, supported by the Lanciers and Chasseurs à cheval of Gen. Piré's cavalry division, marched towards Prince Bernhard's Nassauers around Grand Pierrepont farm and the 27th Jägers positioned in front of it. The French infantry columns met the 27th Jägers near Lairalle farm; the Dutch kept up a brisk fire, but the superior French numbers forced Grunebosch and

Prince Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar. On the morning of 15 June he had to replace the commander of the 2nd (Nassau) Bde when the latter, Col. von Goedecke, was kicked by his horse and suffered a broken leg. This accident placed the prince in one of the most crucial command positions of the campaign: at Quatre-Bras his Nassau infantry bore the first brunt of Ney's attacks. (Author's collection)

Quatre-Bras, seen from north to south. The hamlet consisted of an inn, one large and three smaller stone-built farms with gardens, edged with dense hedges and tall trees. Drawing by Hoynck van Papendrecht. (Author's collection)

the most advanced artillery battery to retreat to avoid being cut off.

Captain Bijleveld's artillery and the 27th Jägers moved to Gémioncourt farm, where the 5th Militia Bn was assembling. Four companies of the latter deployed to the west of the farm close to the main road, and one company was sent forward as skirmishers. Later an officer of the 5th Militia would write: 'The 5th Militia Bn doubled forward in column and deployed to the right of the farm of Gémioncourt, under considerable canister and musket fire, but in the best order. The farm was defended by two flank companies of the battalion and two companies of the 27th Jägers, the first in front of and the latter inside the farm. Our men suffered greatly from the severe fire of the enemy skirmishers, supported by awesome columns; here Lt. Wynoldie was killed, surrounded by the enemy and attempting to break out.' Grunebosch's remaining Jägers took position along the dense hedges near the creek that ran across the field.

At the same time, the 7th Line Bn advanced from the northern end of Bossu Wood along its eastern side, to a point nearly level with the 5th Militia. The 7th Militia advanced towards the open space east of the wood, blocking the central avenue of approach to Quatre-Bras crossroads. Captain Stevenart's artillery, suffering heavy losses from French artillery fire, retreated from the south-eastern tip of the wood towards the crossroads, leaving two disabled guns behind; Stevenart was killed and his command was taken by Lt. Winssinger (only two guns of this battery would fight at Waterloo). The artillery commanded by 2nd Lt. Dibbetz had to leave one howitzer behind; its caisson had blown up, wounding the lieutenant, who was forced to leave the field.

With the Netherlands artillery falling back towards less exposed positions, the French advanced towards Gémioncourt farm, defended by the Dutch 5th Militia and 27th Jägers.

Covering the infantry attack, the French 6e Chasseurs à cheval fell upon the 27th Jägers so unexpectedly that Lt.Col. Grunebosch was unable to deploy his unit into square formation to receive them. Ridden down, the battalion were chased in all directions; by the end of the day they would have suffered 32 per cent casualties. Eventually, 547 survivors assembled behind Van Bijleveld's battery north of the Namur road.

The 5th Militia did have time to form square. The Prince of Orange joined them, and led them forward in close columns in a desperate attempt to retake lost ground: 'Again we reached the farm of Gémioncourt, and, after being deployed once more with the 7th Line Bn – which had moved up outside the woods and closed up on our right flank – together we opened up a two-rank fire and brought the skirmishers forward. In that way we were able to maintain ourselves for half an hour, when we were again attacked by cavalry. The 7th Line Bn had the woods for protection, but we, making use of our former

The Prince of Orange, portrayed holding his sabre – at Quatre-Bras he was waving his hat as he led the 5th Militia into the attack. At Waterloo on 18 June, at about 7.30pm, the prince's horse, Vexy, was hit in the flank. He dismounted, and a few moments later was himself wounded on the left shoulder. It is said that when he was brought to Waterloo village to be treated by an English surgeon, they found in his hand a crushed four-leaved clover which he carried as a talisman. His uniform and sword are preserved at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. In this painting he wears a dark blue pelisse with black fur trim and rich gold decoration, a gold-laced scarlet waistcoat, and blue-grey overalls with double scarlet stripes. He had several uniforms inspired by that of the 6th Hussars – cf Plate B3.

Born in December 1792 and educated to be a soldier, he

(continued opposite)

served for two years in the Prussian Army before joining Wellington's staff in the Peninsula in 1811 with the rank of colonel. He was promoted major-general in both the Netherlands and British armies in 1813. As William II he succeeded his father as King of Holland in 1843 (by which date Belgium had achieved independence from the Netherlands), but died in 1849.

manoeuvre [i.e. forming square?] were less fortunate, suffering much from this attack; especially the fifth company, whose commanding officer, Lt. Boltjes, was killed. Notwithstanding the fact that the battalion lost many men, it still reached its objective, since the remaining part pulled together in closed columns on the highway.'

Further to the west, the Nassauers in Bossu Wood were forced to retreat under pressure of Gen. Foy's infantry. The 1st Bn, Orange-Nassau Regt and the 8th Militia gave up the south-eastern tip of the wood; but the farm of Grand Pierrepont, defended by men of the 2nd Nassau Light Infantry and a section of Stevenart's battery, still held out.

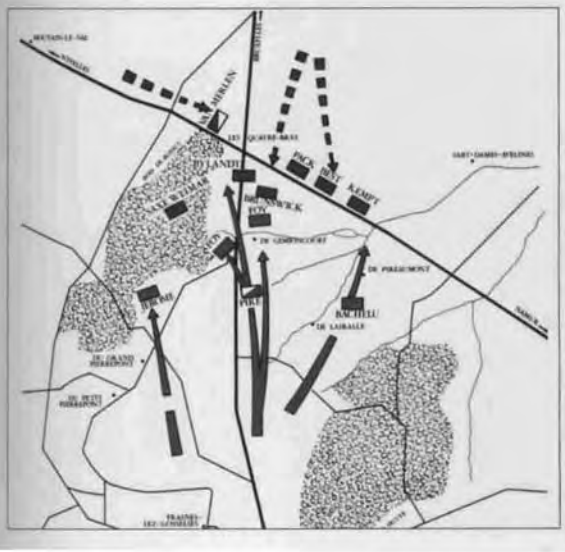
Colonel de Jongh of the 8th Militia received orders to move to the defence of the west side of Bossu Wood:

'I stayed with Capt. Sijbert outside the wood until the entire battalion had passed, [then] dismounted and placed myself in front of the battalion, crossing the tip of the wood. [I] found on the other side part of the 7th Line engaged with the enemy. I immediately acted with the four companies under my command, and chased the French back; [but] since they received reinforcements, they attacked me in their turn and... pushed me back into the wood. At this time a howitzer fragment wounded me in my left side; I collapsed to the ground, but immediately was back on my feet because the injury had only caused a heavy concussion. I was not able to sufficiently maintain order among my troops in the wood; the French, protected by a strong artillery fire from both sides of the wood, forced their way into the wood; I retreated, fighting slowly through the wood, up to the highway between Houtain-le-Val and Quatre-Bras, closer to the latter.'

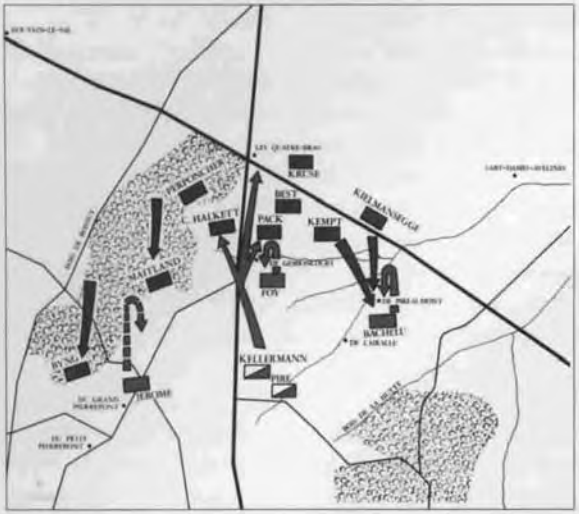
While the infantry and artillery were being pushed northwards, the farm of Grand Pierrepont fell into French hands. Prince Bernhard led his troops forward in a desperate bayonet charge. Assisted by two companies of the 7th Militia, he succeeded in temporarily repulsing the French; but the latter were still progressing on the western side of the wood, and the Nassauers had to retreat towards its northern end to avoid being cut off.

With most of the Netherlands forces defending Bossu Wood and Gémioncourt farm, the French moved forward on the east side of the battlefield. This, together with the progress they were making in Bossu Wood, threatened the Dutch and Nassauers with being outflanked on both sides. The pressure of three infantry divisions and one cavalry brigade was too much for them. However, reinforcements were on their way, led by Lt.Gen. Sir Thomas Picton's 5th British Division. Time, that was all the Prince of Orange needed: and he was granted it, by the arrival of Gen. van Merlen's 2nd Light Cavalry Bde – together with two guns from the half-battery of horse artillery commanded by Capt. Geij and 2nd Lt. van Wassenaar van St Pancras (the other two guns of the half battery stayed behind with the Heavy Cavalry Brigade).

It was a crucial moment – if his command were to hold out until the arrival of the British infantry



Quatre-Bras: sketch map of events in mid-afternoon of 16 June, slightly compressed. The French infantry of Jérome Bonaparte and Gen.Foy, supported by Piré's cavalry, have pushed the Nassau and Dutch infantry of Saxe-Weimar and Van Bylandt into the northern part of Bossu Wood and close to the crossroads itself, respectively; Bachelu's division advances on the Namur road further east – potentially threatening Allied communications with Blücher's Prussian army retreating from Ligny. Van Merlen's Netherlands light cavalry arrive from the west and are thrown straight into battle. From Brussels, the Brunswick corps, Best's Hanoverian and Pack's and Kempt's British brigades (from Picton's 5th Div) are also just arriving and beginning to line the Namur road.



Quatre-Bras: sketch map of events in late afternoon of 16 June. After holding off a succession of French attacks – with difficulty, and at considerable loss – the Allies were reinforced by Halkett's British and Kielmansegge's Hanoverian brigades (3rd Div), and the Foot Guards of Byng's and Maitland's brigades (1st Div). Kellermann's French cuirassiers made damaging charges; but the steady build-up of Allied strength allowed the clearing of Bossu Wood, and eventually a general advance in the centre which pushed Ney's infantry back. As night fell the crossroads were secure.

the Prince of Orange had to halt the unchecked advance of the French. On seeing his light cavalry arrive, he ordered them to charge instantly. The Dutch 6th Hussars (Col. Boreel) charged first; unprepared, their attack was ineffective and they were soon thrown back. Pursued by French cavalry, they rode back towards the five remaining guns of Stevenart's foot battery. Unable to fire, the artillery were overrun, losing many men. The Belgian 5th Light Dragoons, fighting in the French style, were able to stop the pursuing French cavalry and cover the retreat of Boreel's troopers.

Meanwhile the 5th Militia were taking heavy casualties in the defence of Gémioncourt farm. That part of the battalion drawn up on the highway level with the farm now fell victim to the French cavalry. With many of their officers killed, the militiamen found themselves in the middle of the cavalry charge, and were completely scattered. The survivors could only be collected under cover of the houses of Quatre-Bras, where they would remain in reserve for the rest of the day; the battalion's final losses for the day would amount to 62 per cent of their original strength.

With the French cavalry attacks persisting, Capt. Geij and his mounted gunners, reinforced by some volunteers, charged the French who were towing Dutch guns away; not one of the abandoned cannon was left in French hands.

Until this point Gémioncourt farm itself was still heroically defended against Gen. Foy's much superior forces by the four companies of the 5th Militia and 27th Jägers commanded by Lt.Col. Westenberg; now at last they were forced to abandon this advanced bastion of the Netherlands defences, and the Prince of Orange was obliged to pull his units back closer to Quatre-Bras. But their heroism had won him the time he needed: at some time around 3pm the Duke of Wellington returned, to find that the leading units of British and Hanoverian infantry were arriving from Brussels, and he sent them straight into the line.

Marshal Ney, reinforced by Kellermann's heavy cavalry and desperate to seize back the chance which was slipping from his grasp, ordered all his troops forward to capture the crossroads. Mauling several British regiments badly, they nearly reached Quatre-Bras; but the growing numbers of Allied troops gave Wellington the reserves he needed. He was reinforced by the Duke of Brunswick's contingent, and some time later by elements of the 3rd and 1st British Divisions. General van Bylandt's tired brigade was relieved. More and more Allied troops arrived at the crossroads or went straight from the Nivelles road into Bossu Wood, and by around 4pm the situation had been stabilised. Wellington ordered a counter-attack, and the French were driven back almost to the position they held at the start of the battle. The exhausted soldiers – Dutch, German, British and French – bivouacked for the night on the corpse-strewn battlefield. The raw Dutch militiamen, in particular, had risen to the challenge of their first battle.

WATERLOO AND AFTER

As already mentioned, the part played by the Netherlands forces at Waterloo on 18 June will only be summarised briefly here, to avoid repeating the account in MAA 355, *Wellington's Belgian Allies 1815*.

With Blücher's Prussians beaten at Ligny away to the south-east, and now retreating due northwards towards Wavre several miles behind his left flank, Wellington at Quatre-Bras found himself forced to retreat northwards towards Waterloo, in order to stay parallel with the Prussians and to keep alive the chance of joint operations. By midday on the 17th all the infantry had left the battlefield, leaving a screen of British and Hanoverian cavalry and horse artillery to cover their withdrawal. Marching though a thunderous rainstorm, the Allies arrived in late afternoon at the low feature of Mont St Jean south of Waterloo – long ago selected by Wellington as a possible battlefield for a defence of the southern approaches to Brussels. Sodden, exhausted, without firewood or proper food, the Allied soldiers tried to grab some sleep on beds of trampled corn in the mud.

On 18 June, Wellington remained acutely sensitive about his western flank, and kept strong forces in the areas of Halle and Braine-l'Alleud; this included Stedman's 1st Netherlands Div, Anthing's Indies Bde and, initially, Chassé's 3rd Netherlands Division.

Those Netherlands troops that were committed at Waterloo fought with bravery. General van Bylandt's brigade, badly bloodied at Quatre-Bras, was placed in a perilous position on the forward slope south of the Ohain road, east of its junction with the Charleroi-Brussels highway. To the bafflement of all observers, for at least an hour at the beginning of the battle the brigade was left exposed to murderous French artillery fire before being ordered to fall back into the cover of dead ground. Despite this ordeal, when D'Erlon's great infantry attack fell upon this sector several of Van Bylandt's units acquitted themselves a lot better than was at first reported by some British commentators. The wounded Col. de Jongh of the 8th Militia – the only battalion commander left – had himself tied into his saddle to lead the survivors forward again against D'Erlon's infantry when Van Bylandt became a casualty. The Netherlanders fought side by side with Picton's redcoats in driving back this massive attack, which was already reeling before the famous British heavy cavalry charge struck it.

Carabiniers (i.e. grenadiers) of the 2nd Nassau-Usingen Light Infantry Regiment charging at Waterloo, painted in 1816 by Dighton. Most of their equipment is French, but he shows flat-folded grey greatcoats or blankets worn round the body under their knapsack straps. Red distinctions – plume or pompon, cap cords, bag and flounders, and epaulettes – are typical for grenadiers; note also (left) a brass grenade on the pouch. The sabre shown carried by these flank company soldiers is an early Prussian model. The men's colpacks are black, their trousers and short gaiters white. The officer wears a brown fur colpack with gold cord and flounders, an orange sash and sky blue trousers – see Plate H1. (Anne S.K. Brown Collection)

Walraven E.J. Baron van Balveren (1784–1865), a former officer of Napoleon's 2nd ('Red') Lancers of the Guard who entered the new North Netherlands army in spring 1814. An experienced officer who had served with distinction in the French army, he was present at Waterloo as a major in the 6th Hussars (in whose uniform he is portrayed), and was admitted to the Military Order of William in November 1816. (Stichting Iconografisch Bureau, The Hague)

On the Allied far left flank, Prince Bernhard's Nassau brigade stoutly held the sector Papelotte, la Haie, Smohain, Frischermont against Gen. Durutte's French 4th Div, assuring the point of junction until the Prussians linked up with the Allies, with decisive results. Throughout the afternoon Gen.Trip's heavy cavalry and the light brigades of Gens. de Ghigny and Van Merlen were repeatedly engaged in charge and counter-charge against the French cavalry attacks, and Gen. van Merlen was killed at the head of his troopers.

Finally, when Napoleon threw in his Imperial Guard infantry against Wellington's right centre, it was not only Maitland's Foot Guards and the 52nd Light Infantry which stopped them dead. General Chassé, earlier ordered forward from reserve, arrived at the perfect moment and grasped the situation at once. He ordered his artillery forward and, after delivering a storm of canister shot, launched his 6,000 men in a bayonet charge which rocked the hesitating French columns backwards.

Most of the Netherlands forces halted for the night near Genappe. On 21 June 1815 the Anglo-Netherlands army crossed the French border. Soon Napoleon would abdicate for the second and final time. From late June until 20 July 1815, the Allied II Corps continued to fight the French at Le Quesnoy, Valenciennes and Condé. On 7 July men of I Corps were quartered in the Bois de Boulogne with its HQ in Paris, where the Prince of Orange was re-installed as commander-in-chief of the Netherlands forces. The Netherlands occupation troops returned home after the second Peace of Paris on 20 November 1815.

The reckoning: Netherlands casualties

Units marked* were of South Netherlands (Belgian) origin; Nassau units are identified; the remainder were Dutch. The percentages are for totals of killed and wounded in the June 1815 campaign:

2nd Division: 27th Jägers – 44 per cent; 7th Line Bn* – 34 per cent; 5th Militia Bn – 67 per cent; 7th Militia Bn – 42 per cent; 8th Militia Bn – 34 per cent *(Bylandt's Bde total = 43 per cent)*. 2nd Nassau Light Inf – 18 per cent; Regt Orange-Nassau (incl.Vol.Jägers) – 10 per cent *(Prince Bernhard's Bde total = 15 per cent)*.
Artillery* & Train total = 17 per cent.

3rd Division : 35th Jägers* – 12 per cent; 2nd Line Bn – 19 per cent; 4th Militia Bn – 14 per cent; 6th Militia Bn – 8 per cent; 17th Militia Bn – 11 per cent; 19th Militia Bn – 17 per cent *(Detmers' Bde total = 13 per cent)*. 36th Jägers* – 9 per cent; 3rd Line Bn* – 13 per cent; 12th Line Bn – 6 per cent; 13th Line Bn – 9 per cent; 3rd Militia Bn – 6 per cent; 10th Militia Bn – 4 per cent *(D'Aubremé's Bde total = 8 per cent)*.
Artillery: Krahmer's Bty – 15 per cent; Lux's Bty – 11 per cent; Train – 7 per cent.

Cavalry Division (Gen. de Collaert): 1st Carabiniers – 13 per cent; 2nd Carabiniers* – 39 per cent; 3rd Carabiniers – 16 per cent *(Trip's Bde total = 27 per cent)*. 4th Light Dragoons – 38 per

Memorial plaque to the officers of the 6th Hussars killed at Waterloo, in Waterloo church: Maj.Gen. van Merlen, Capt. Willem van Wynbergen, Capt. Mauritz van Heyden, Lt. Willem Verhellouw, Lt.Willem Wolff, and Jonker Cornelis Breda. (Author's collection)

cent; 8th Hussars* – 65 per cent *(De Ghigny's Bde total = 48 per cent)*. 5th Light Dragoons* – 36 per cent; 6th Hussars – 35 per cent *(Van Merlen's Bde total = 35 per cent)*.
Artillery – 16 per cent; Train – 14 per cent.

Volunteers

From the end of July until early September 1815, mounted and foot volunteer units served with the regular army in France. On 30 September they were honourably released from this service, returning the following month to Holland, where they were disbanded on 27 October. The mounted uniforms were more or less similar for all units – see description under Plate F1. The foot Jäger volunteers wore the same uniforms as the regular Jäger and Flanker units with which they served.

General Chassé's 3rd Netherlands Div, held in reserve behind the Allied right flank for much of 18 June, intervened with élan at the decisive moment of the final Imperial Guard attack. Napoleon's last effort to break the Allied line was crushed – by the man who had gained in his service the nickname of *'Général Bayonet'*... Picture by James Thiriar. (Author's collection)

The rewards

With the first challenge to the newborn kingdom behind them, it was time to honour the men who had fought with merit. The first 80 or so crosses of the Military Order of William, founded on 30 April 1815, were presented at a ceremony held on the road between St Denis and Epernay on 30 July. An eyewitness from the 5th Militia Bn recalled:

'So at last it was the 30th of July, the day wherefore we came to Paris. We advanced to St Denis where the Dutch army was assembling. General Perponcher's division was standing in line on the Epernay–St Denis road. Left of them were small detachments of soldiers from the other corps. Next to them stood Chassé's 3rd Division. Opposite to us [were] some 50 of the 158 knights of the new Order of William – one of them, our own Sergeant van den Brink. Most of the knights were with Prince Frederik's army or in hospital.[1]

'We had been marching with cheerful music; now there was a moment of total silence. Then the music started to play again, followed by swelling cheers. Prince William rode towards us, followed by a large number of Netherlands and British officers. He passed at a gallop, [and] we did not see him make his famous hand gesture towards his troops. Instead we noticed that his left arm was supported by a white sling and that he wore a broad orange sash of the new Order over his chest.

After reviewing his troops, he placed himself and his staff among the new members of the Order. Drums called us to attention, and Gen. de Constant Rebecque started reading in a loud, firm voice the articles of the royal decree that nominated the knights. Next the prince thanked them for their bravery, courage and fortitude in battle, and finished his speech by saying, "It is a privilege to say that the whole army now under my command surpassed itself in the field, bringing the campaign to a successful end by your actions. Long live the King! Long live the Fatherland!"

Johannes Insinger (1792–1829) in the green uniform of a Volunteer, clearly showing the laced shoulder straps and rolls – see Plate F1. In this case the pouch belt is black – such details would naturally vary, since the volunteers provided their own equipment. (Stichting Iconografisch Bureau, The Hague)

1 The horse artillery received 41 crosses of the Order of William 4th Class, nine of them to officers such as Bijleveld, Krahmer and Petter. The foot artillery received seven crosses, two of them to officers, one of whom was Winssinger. The Train received ten crosses of which two went to officers. Major van Opstal of the 2nd Div became a knight 4th Class, and Capt. Geij 3rd Class – as did Maj. Vander Smissen, artillery commander of Chassé's 3rd Division. His command comprised Krahmer de Bichin's horse battery and Lux's foot battery. (Krahmer distinguished himself at Waterloo; Lux did not. An officer lacking battle or command experience, he showed no enthusiasm for the campaign – and his battery, consequently, little spirit or energy.)

Dutch and Prussian troops meet on the evening of 18 June. The Prussians, after bloody fighting against Imperial Guard infantry, broke through at Plancenoit to reach the Charleroi road at Maison du Roi, where they linked up with Dutch soldiers of the 19th Militia Battalion (right). Painting by Hoynck van Papendrecht. (Friends of the Royal Dutch Army Museum, Delft)

'A thunderstorm of hurrahs followed. Then the prince took the knights' oaths of loyalty one by one, pinned the cross on the breast of each, and shook them by the hand. After this spectacle, the Netherlands army passed in front of the 50 knights... . The music played and the banners were lowered. Some of the knights had nervous smiles or shaky legs. Later that day, all the knights were invited for a meal in the Tivoli gardens.'

To commemorate their services – as was the case for the volunteers of 1813–14 – the troops who fought in 1815 received medals issued by local organisations. Some of these were given as non-wearable awards, to which a ring and ribbon were later added at personal expense.

Years would pass before the veterans' services would be officially recognised. The Netherlands regular and militia forces never saw anything like the Waterloo Medal issued soon after the event to all surviving British veterans and the families of the fallen. However, by a decree of 10 May 1865 the Dutch government, on the 50th anniversary of Waterloo, ordered a medal – the Silver Cross – to be awarded to those who had helped to liberate their country in 1813–14, and to those who fought in 1815. (The 1815 volunteers, although not present at Waterloo, also received the medal for their service during the occupation of France.)

The Silver Cross 1813–15 was awarded for the first time at Leiden on 27 June 1865; one of the 570-odd veterans who received it was 68 years old – the youngest of all was Prince Frederik. In total some 5,000 medals were awarded to the survivors of the 30,000-strong army of 1813–15.

In 1869 the 2nd, 5th, 6th and 7th Inf Regts and the 3rd Hussars received the battle-honour 'Quatre-Bras en Waterloo 1815', to be embroidered on their regimental banners. The 8th Line Inf Regt was allowed to fix the Silver Cross to its banner. The last survivor wearing this decoration would die in 1894.

Men of the Dutch 4th Light Dragoons represented by Hoynck van Papendrecht near the buildings of the hamlets of Maison du Roi or le Caillou, between la Belle Alliance and Genappe. Although they did not serve at Quatre-Bras, the regiment still had 38 per cent casualties at Waterloo. Together with the Belgian 8th Hussars they formed Gen. Baron de Ghigny's 1st Light Cavalry Bde, which at Waterloo was heavily involved on both the western and eastern flanks, engaging French cavalry around Hougoumont and Smohain. The trumpeter (centre) is shown wearing the red jacket specified in the January 1815 regulations. (Author's collection)

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THE PLATES

Commentaries by Patrice Courcelle:

The army of the Netherlands was only a year old at the outbreak of hostilities in 1815. Yet two different sets of uniform regulations had been issued for the Dutch troops, and three for the Belgians; and the January 1815 regulations only preceded the mobilisation by two months. Given the time needed for materials to be procured and new items manufactured, it is accepted that the army went to war before the 1815 regulations could be widely applied. Officers would have purchased their own new uniforms; but in the ranks pre-1815 uniforms, mixed with items taken from French stocks or supplied by Britain, were certainly common. If we take into account that much of the pictorial evidence dates from the 1820s, it is hardly surprising that researchers have differing opinions over details.

In this present book and in MAA 355, *Wellington's Belgian Allies 1815*, we have honestly tried to make use only of first-hand information, contemporary pictures and original regulations, rather than perpetuating errors by copying secondary sources. This approach has produced some minor surprises; and no doubt much remains to be discovered or confirmed by continuing research. One surprise is the display of NCOs' rank distinctions on the sleeves: in MAA 355, Plate F2, we find a Line Infantry NCO with French insignia, and Plate D1 in the present book shows a Hussar NCO wearing British-style chevrons. Another questionable point is the epaulettes of the Carabiniers, Dutch and Belgian. The basic regulation gives shoulder straps for the Dutch 1st and 3rd Regts, and fringed red epaulettes for the Belgian 2nd Regt; but a contemporary sketch (see page 46) shows fringed white epaulettes for all the Carabinier regiments.

Another controversy surrounds the Belgian light infantry (Chasseur) shako. 'Everybody knows that Belgian infantry wore the British shako in 1815'; and in the 1970s, by extension, the idea seems to have spread that the Belgian light infantry also had this headgear. Our own research has failed to find a single genuinely contemporary document to confirm this. On the other hand, two respected sources for Belgian data of 1815 – Winand Aerts and James Thiriar – never show a Belgian light infantryman wearing anything other than the Dutch (Austrian-style) shako – thus our choice for Plate G in MAA 355.

Note that the uniforms of the Dutch and Belgian **artillery** units were the same, and for these readers should see also the text and Plate H in MAA 355.

A: THE 1813 UPRISING

A1: Field officer, National Guard of Amsterdam

National Guard uniforms under the Empire were as for French Line Infantry but with white and silver metal and lace. Napoleon used the National Guard as a pool of manpower to circumvent the restrictions of the conscription laws; and when French power began to collapse, the trained officers and men of the National Guards in non-French countries were among the first to join the insurrections.

A2: Civilian rebel

Men from all levels of Dutch society took up arms against the French, turning out in their everyday clothing distinguished by sashes, sleeve ribbons and hat cockades in the orange colour of the dynasty. The rebels' weapons were anything they could lay hands on – this middle-class patriot carries a hunting rifle.

A3: Staff officer, Army of the United Provinces

This field officer wears the uniform of the standard pattern for officers; he is in full dress, with white breeches and riding boots in the style known as *'à l'écuyère'* – on campaign he would adopt grey overalls. The single-breasted dark blue coat has facings of the bright red shade called *'ponceau'*. The shako is rather low and bell-topped; contemporary portraits show that staff officers' headdress did not necessarily feature the rear peak usual throughout most of the Dutch Army. The lion-masks and chain, just visible at side and rear, would be regulation some years later but at this date were a personal affectation.

B: STAFF, 1815

B1: Staff aide-de-camp

The facings are again ponceau-red, and ADCs were distinguished mainly by silver buttons, epaulettes and lace embroidery including S-shaped loops on collar and cuffs. On campaign, he wears grey riding overalls with leather reinforcement.

B2: Corporal, Corps of Mounted Guides, campaign dress

This hand-picked unit of 56 officers and men was formed in February 1815 to carry despatches for staff officers. Selected from the ranks of the mounted regiments – including the horse artillery – all the troopers were promoted corporal, marked by two yellow inverted chevrons above each cuff. The double-peaked shako was decorated with a black cock-feather plume, and a yellow cord and tassels – a novelty chosen, like the double *litzen* on the collar, to make this elite unit instantly recognisable. The dark blue, short-tailed coat had ponceau-red turnbacks; the unit facing colour was crimson, displayed on the collar and round cuffs (hidden here by gauntlets), and as piping on the front and lace on the blue shoulder straps and rolls. The grey overalls have black leather reinforcement at the bottoms and insides of the legs. He is armed with a British 1796 light cavalry

Jacob Pronk (1762–1838), a merchant and shipowner from Scheveningen who organised the landing of British troops and material; later he would supervise the return of the prince-sovereign from England. His civilian costume is typical of the clothing worn by patriotic volunteers in 1813: a top hat with orange cockade, an orange sash and a sword – cf Plate A2. (Stichting Iconografisch Bureau, The Hague)

sabre; some pictures show the Guides carrying lances in 1815, but this was only regulated in December 1817 and is probably mistaken.

B3: Prince William of Orange & Nassau, campaign dress

He is represented here in one of several special uniforms which he wore in 1815, probably that worn at the beginning of the campaign and at Quatre-Bras. The lace on the pelisse is a narrower version of that regulated for general officers. The fashionable overalls are taken from a portrait by Odeware; the sabre is copied from the original weapon.

B4: Major-General Baron de Constant Rebecque

He is depicted in his full dress as major-general, with white breeches. Several paintings of King William I show the tunic perfectly. Note the special gold lace of a general officer on the high collar and Swedish cuffs; the tails are plain, without lace on the pockets or turnbacks. In the field it was fashionable for officers to wear plain grey overalls of a light blueish shade. On his breast he wears the only decoration to which he was entitled in June 1815: the British Peninsular Gold Medal, instituted in October 1813, with – strangely – five battle clasps; any officer qualifying for a fourth award was entitled to the Gold Cross instead.

C: HEAVY CAVALRY & ENGINEERS, CAMPAIGN DRESS, 1815

C1: Officer, 3rd Carabiniers
C2: Trooper, 1st Carabiniers

The large cocked hat with its white plume had the cockade unusually placed on the left side, secured by a white loop and white metal button (tassels and cockade loop were silver for officers). The 1st and 3rd Carabiniers continued to avoid the new regulation short-tailed coat with red facings for all three regiments (see MAA 355, Plate E), keeping their old long-tailed coats with regimental facing colours of pink and yellow respectively. Note the linings and turnbacks also in these facing colours, instead of the usual red. In the 'De Wilde document' (page 46) they are shown with white fringed epaulettes, instead of the regulation blue shoulder straps piped in yellow or pink. The cuffs – concealed here – were of facing colour, with blue cuff flaps piped with facing colour. The lapels could be crossed, exposing only a line of facing colour piping down the right edge of the blue breast; some officers adopted the British fashion of partially fastening the lapels across. In full dress white breeches were worn with the high riding boots; on campaign they were officially replaced by grey overalls with a facing-colour stripe and white metal buttons. Officers, purchasing their own uniforms, could quickly follow the new regulations; this was not the case for the rank and file, who must often have drawn on French stores. Each Dutch carabinier was issued two pistols and, when available, a carbine, probably a British heavy cavalry model. The sword was a Dutch pattern, resembling the French An XI but with a steel hilt, carried in a steel scabbard. The horse furniture is clearly French, straight from captured stocks. The blue saddle cloth had '1' or '3' sewn in the rear corners – note the particular shape of the numeral in C2.

C3: 1st Lieutenant, Corps of Engineers

Contemporary portraits show a dark blue coat, not the 'pike-blue' mentioned in pre-1815 regulations. The distinctive features of the corps were black velvet facings, with gold S-shaped foliate loops, red piping on the front edge of the coat, and gold distinctions. The heavy tassels of the officer's sash are non-regulation but often appear in contemporary engravings; the sash should have been tied on the left, but this also varied according to personal whim. The single epaulette identifies a subaltern officer; field officers wore two, on an otherwise identical uniform. The regulation straight sword was unsuitable for campaign, and has been replaced with a cavalry sabre. The Dutch officer's sword knot was of silver lace bordered with orange stiching; the head of the tassel was mixed silver and orange, and the fringes showed a single layer of silver around a core of orange.

D: HUSSARS, 1815

D1: NCO, 6th Hussars, full dress
D2: Trooper, 6th Hussars, campaign dress
D3: Officer, 6th Hussars, campaign dress

The French appearance of this uniform owed much to the tall single-peaked shako, resembling the non-regulation French light cavalry style of 1810–12. The top band, cord, tassels and olive-shaped pompon were in mixed yellow and black, as was all the lace and cording on the rankers' uniform. ('Yellow' in the contemporary meaning was a dark shade with a slight orange tinge.) The dolman and breeches were *bleu céleste foncé*, dark sky blue; the pelisse was not worn

at Waterloo. The 18-part barrel sash was orange and white. Contemporary plates (by e.g. J.Hari) show truly 'Hungarian' boots, adopted from the French and recognisable by the stitching across the upper foot. Officers' uniforms were of better cloth and cut than those of the rank and file, including a noticeably brighter blue shade; yellow was replaced by gold in all their embellishments. Ranks were indicated in the French style by the number of gold laces above the cuff. Their sash was of orange silk with gold barrels and gold tasselled cords.

From contempory pictures the equipment seems to have been entirely British, including the 1796 light cavalry sabre. Firearms are less clear, and were apparently largely French but 'topped up' with some British-supplied weapons. The sabretache bore a large '6', probably in yellow metal. Records show that Britain supplied a large number of sets of light cavalry horse furniture (e.g. in December 1813, 550 hussar saddles with bridles and blankets), so we may assume that the tack of this regiment was of British pattern.

D1 follows a contemporary engraving (see page 47). Note the British-style rank insignia, worn on the right sleeve only of the dolman and pelisse – a crown and a yellow chevron on white backing. The exact rank is unclear, but since he does not carry a carbine he is at least a sergeant. NCOs' horse equipment was as for the troopers, illustrated at **D2**. The trooper is reconstructed from contemporary documentary sources; shortages led to the regulation grey overalls being replaced by dark blue, with a yellow stripe. The officer **D3** is also from contemporary reports. Officers, too, discarded the pelisse during the June 1815 campaign. Since they bought their own uniforms they were able to sport the regulation grey overalls, typically of an attractive blueish shade, with a red stripe. Since we have no contemporary pictorial sources for trumpeters' uniforms, we have chosen not to try to reconstruct one here purely from written regulations.

E: INFANTRY OF THE LINE, CAMPAIGN DRESS, 1815

E1: Officer
E2: Private
E3: Private in foul weather dress
E4: Drummer

The typical shako was of quite low construction, slightly bell-topped, with both front and rear peaks but no chinstrap. There were two main models of brass plate: one copied that of the British 1812 'Belgic' shako with the 'W' for William replacing 'GR'; the other was of oval shape, crowned and stamped 'W' like the first. Above the orange national cockade was a short plume, all-white for centre companies and red-tipped white for flank companies. The rank-and-file coatee was basically of British infantry cut, single-breasted and short-tailed, of dark blue cloth with red lining and turnbacks. The facing colour was white for all battalions, showing at the collar and cuffs; and as piping on the front edge, cuff flaps, pockets, and rear vents from the rear waist buttons. The buttons were brass, stamped with the battalion number – the only unit identification. Centre companies had blue shoulder straps piped white, and flank companies padded shoulder rolls with white lace. Trousers were white linen for warm weather and grey cloth for cold; contemporary images all show grey worn for the Waterloo campaign. Short grey or black cloth gaiters were worn over the shoes.

Contemporary engravings show rankers wearing French equipment: white crossbelts for the cartridge pouch and bayonet, and brown calfskin knapsacks with white straps. There are also records of Britain supplying numerous complete sets of equipment, and we may suppose that some units received these instead of old French stocks. The armament was mostly the British 'Brown Bess' musket of India Pattern – including some actually made in Holland. Drummers and fifers were distinguished only by 'swallow's nest' shoulder ornaments, of the white universal facing colour with false gold fringes and lace, the latter in the shape of two interwoven 'Ws', upright and reversed. The drum rims were painted in triangles of blue, red and white (note different Militia pattern on Plate G2). A loose grey-brown overcoat, and a shako cover of quite elaborate construction, were worn in bad weather; our only pictorial source is from a contemporary but anonoymous series, possibly by Langendijk, now in the collection of HM Queen Elizabeth II.

Officers wore long-tailed coats of the standard officer's pattern in the same basic colours but of finer quality, with horizontal pockets; portraits indicate blue piping around the collar. Officers' status was identified by single or paired silver epaulettes, and the orange silk waist sash of various slightly differing patterns; their shako ornaments were also of appropriate materials and quality, and they carried gilt-hilted swords.

F: LIGHT DRAGOONS, 1815

F1: Trooper, Volunteer Light Dragoons

These little-known units ('Chasseurs à Cheval Volontaires') were independent companies or squadrons raised all over the country specifically for the 1815 campaign, from middle-class volunteers mounted and uniformed at their own expense. One small unit, varying from 30 to 97 men, was attached to each Dutch Line cavalry regiment. The Volunteer Light Dragoons are said to have served well, if briefly, before being disbanded in September 1815. A few documents and one miniature portrait have survived to give a more or less precise idea of the uniforms (see picture on page 41).

According to Ten Raa, the respected 19th-century Dutch historian, they probably wore: a single-peaked shako covered with dark green cloth; silver chin scales; orange cockade, secured with silver lace; white tasselled cord; plate unknown – but we may presume a silvered version of the infantry plate. Double-breasted dark green jacket; two rows of silver half-ball buttons; orange facings to the large open collar and pointed cuffs, orange lining and turnbacks, orange piping in the usual positions; dark green shoulder straps edged with narrow silver lace; green shoulder rolls piped orange at the bottom and decorated with narrow silver lace. Dark green overalls piped orange. Conventional light cavalry equipment of no single pattern; two pistols, short carbine and curved sabre with appropriate belts. Light cavalry horse furniture, again of no set pattern; saddle cloth dark green with white lace border and crowned 'W'. We can only speculate about officers' uniform. It might have been basically the same as for the troopers, with silver shako embellishments; one or two silver epaulettes replacing the shoulder rolls, according to ranks; pouch- and waist belts of red or green leather decorated with silver lace and/or half-ball buttons; weapons of a quality according to the owner's wealth; silver decoration on the saddle cloth.

The so-called 'De Wilde document' – see Plate C: a copy made by Dr de Wilde during World War II of an anonymous original engraving of Netherlands troops in Paris in July 1815, which has since disappeared. The artist himself is probably seated at centre left. Note both Dutch 3rd (left – yellow facings) and Belgian 2nd Carabiniers (centre right & right) with white epaulettes – cf MAA 355, Plate E. Seated second left is a 3rd Carabinier in blue forage cap piped white, and yellow stable jacket with blue collar and cuffs. All the overalls are shown in light grey.

F2: Trooper, 4th Light Dragoons
F3: Officer, 4th Light Dragoons

The uniform of this regiment was mainly inspired by the old British light dragoon dress. The black, single-peaked shako had a white metal plate – of infantry pattern – and chin scales; the orange cockade was secured by narrow white lace and a silver button; the tall plume was white, without a pompon. The single-breasted dark blue 'karaco' jacket had three rows of nine half-ball buttons; the red facing colour appeared at the collar, pointed cuffs, turnbacks, and in a one-inch band at the bottom front. The breast was corded in hussar fashion, and the white lacing on the collar and cuffs was drawn into Hungarian knots. The plain blue overalls had black leather reinforcement. Weapons, equipment and horse furniture were of British light cavalry patterns; the blue shabraque had white edging and royal cyphers.

Officers' uniform was basically the same but of finer materials and workmanship. All white embellishments were replaced with silver, and appropriate silver epaulettes were worn. **F3** shows one type of officer's overalls among what were probably several; this item, like the personal accoutrements and weapons, would vary according to the wealth and taste of individuals. Light cavalry horse furniture would also vary in details; but for officers it included a black sheepskin edged with red, and a shabraque ornamented with silver lace.

G: MILITIA, 1815
G1: Private, flank company ?
G2: Drummer
G3: Field officer

The Militia battalions represented an important part of the Dutch infantry on the battlefields of 1815. Uniforms should have been manufactured locally at the expense of local authorities, but the reality seems to have been different, as proved by this short extract from a British despatch from one James Goulburn to G.Harrison (Treasury) at Downing Street on 18 November 1813: *'...Preparation and shipment for a particular service of 20,000 sets of blue clothing with orange facings ... the urgent necessity of this supply to be shipped with the least possible delay...'*(PRO/WO 6/474 p.200).

The rank and file wore the old British 'light infantry' ('stovepipe') shako; an orange cockade at top front was surmounted by a white plume for the centre companies. The white metal plate was of elongated semi-circular shape with a stylised 'sunray' edge, and the words 'VOOR VADERLAND EN ORANJE'. The dark blue coatee was cut like that of the Line Infantry except for having plain round cuffs without flaps; facings and piping were orange, linings and turnbacks white. Shoulder straps were dark blue with orange piping; and the white metal buttons were stamped 'LM' for Land Militie ('Territorial/National Militia'). The rest of the uniform, equipment and weapons were as for the Line battalions.

From contemporary sources the distinctions of flank companies are harder to determine. The shako plume may have been all white, or red-tipped white. A plate by Langendijk shows a Militia flanker wearing a coatee with padded shoulder rolls piped white, and blue-grey trousers piped orange. A painting by Matthieu van Bree shows what are supposed to be flankers wearing red shako plumes, and plain orange shoulder straps without padded rolls (see **G1**). The French engraver Genty made a plate with a Militia flanker wearing a red-over-green plume, and French light infantry epaulettes of green with red crescents and *brides*. No doubt all these variations were observed in one unit or another.

Drummers and fifers were distinguished by the regulation 'swallow's nests', in facing colour with white fringe and lacing. Typically, the drum rims were painted in red/blue/white bands as shown on **G2**. This plate is reconstructed straight from the January 1815 regulations; since these were new units with no previous uniforms they were more likely to receive the most recent British-made clothing as their first issue.

Militia officers wore a double-peaked, bell-topped shako with a plume in company colours – white, red, etc.; field officers had a taller white plume; the plate was similar to the rankers', but see the portrait on page 16. **G3** is taken from a painting by van Bree and a portrait – note the gilt grenade-shaped plume holder; the long orange sash and tight blue-grey trousers are typical personal affectations. The officers' long-tailed coat was of the same colours as the rankers' coatee, and the rest of their kit was as for Line officers.

H: NASSAU & COLONIAL TROOPS, 1815
H1: Grenadier officer, 2nd Nassau-Usingen Light Infantry
H2: Private, (28th) Orange-Nassau Regiment
H3: Drummer, 2nd Nassau-Usingen Light Infantry

Although the uniforms of the various Nassau units present at Waterloo are still a matter for research, we do have information on the Orange-Nassau Regt (28th in the

Netherlands Line) and the 2nd Nassau-Usingen Light Infantry Regt which formed Prince Bernhard's brigade. Both retained something of a French appearance, which led to some tragic confusion when the Prussians arrived on the field of Waterloo.

The Orange-Nassau Regt wore a French shako with an orange cockade, and a Dutch Line Infantry plate in white metal, like the chin scales; a white plaited cord with tassels, and a white plume. The coatee of the rank and file was similar to that of the Dutch Militia but faced with red; the buttons were brass. The campaign trousers seem to have been French, so white; all equipment was French, with white crossbelts. The musket was also French. **H2** is after the Dutch artist Hoynck van Papendrecht.

The centre companies of the Nassau-Usingen Light Infantry wore shakos, perhaps French, with a special brass plate of a shield surrounded by trophies of flags, cannons and balls; above the orange cockade was a yellow tufted pompon. The coat was a short-tailed French *surtout* in dark green, with black facings at the collar, round cuffs and shoulder straps, and black lining and turnbacks. All edges were piped yellow; the buttons were brass. The dark green waistcoat was edged with yellow piping. Trousers were dark green with Hungarian knots decorating the vents. All equipment was French, in pale ochre leather; the muskets were French, but the sabre – perhaps still carried – was Prussian. The grenadier (or 'carabinier') company wore a busby with red bag and tasselled cord, and red French-type grenadier epaulettes; Dighton shows them carrying sabres. The NCOs still wore French-style rank insignia. Drummers and fifers were distinguished by the usual Dutch 'swallow's nests', in yellow with false gold lacing; and by five laced buttonholes on the breast and three chevrons on the forearms of the coat. The rims of the drums were painted in alternating yellow and sky-blue triangles. **H3** is after Knötel.

Officers of the Nassau-Usingen regiment wore a long-tailed coat with horizontal pockets, and headdress appropriate to their company, with gold ornaments. The French system of rank epaulettes was still in use in this regiment. The grenadier officer **H1** is after Dighton's painting reproduced on page 39.

H4: Private, Dutch Colonial Infantry

This man serves with a centre company of the 5th Line Inf Regt, the main unit of Gen. Anthing's Indies Bde which formed part of the reserve at Waterloo. The double-peaked shako has a brass plate of British shape; the orange cockade is secured by a yellow loop; the plume is sky-blue over white; and at this date we presume no chin scales were worn. Two contemporary plates published by Langendijk immediately after 1815 show such troops with this Dutch coat of the old cut; it is dark blue with light blue collar, lapels, cuffs and turnbacks, all piped red. All the buttonholes have yellow lace loops; note the special arrangement of buttons and loops on the cuffs. The trousers are white linen and the gaiters grey cloth. Apart from the usual calfskin knapsack, the equipment was all British, as was the armament. The uniforms worn by flankers, drummers and officers are as yet unknown.

Nassau infantry private in greatcoat and foul-weather shako cover. The painting is unsigned, but may be by Langendijk (died 1818). Even if it does date from a little later than Waterloo, the outfit illustrated would not have changed. (Anne S.K. Brown Collection)

Hand-coloured engraving by J.Bemme after J.Hari (1815) showing an NCO of the 6th Hussars – see Plate D1. Rank insignia in the British Army style can be seen on the right sleeve of the pelisse. (Anne S.K. Brown Collection)